

BARTO

Tanhäuser & the Venusberg

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TANHÄUSER AND THE VENUSBERG

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of my study is to arrive at a solution of the Tanhäuser-Venusberg problem. From the outset it has appeared to me that the Venusberg myth is essentially independent and the connection of Tanhäuser therewith of a relatively late date. For this reason I have first attacked the question of the Venusberg, my thesis being the underlying identity of Venusberg and Gral, which an unmistakable parallelism of description and a frequent confusion of the two names seems to support. To this may be added the fact that the name Venusberg does not appear until the first part of the 15. century, when the belief in a Gral-Paradies was completely developed. The most striking feature of this belief is the legend of a hero who comes to this earth from a far-off, unknown paradise and later returns. Tanhäuser's position in the Venusberg is that of an accidental interloper, rather than its real and original hero, a distinction belonging more immediately to the Knight of the Swan.

At this time I wish to express my deepest thanks to my teacher, Professor Doctor Julius Goebel, whose scholarly criticism and keen insight have called the present study into being and alone made possible its continuance and completion.

VENUSBERG

Adequate and trustworthy conclusions concerning the nature and origin of the Venusberg are to be reached only by a careful study of all that the literature of the 15. and 16. centuries has to say on the subject. There exist, aside from the Tanhäuser song itself, some forty or more allusions, references and descriptions dealing with this famous mountain. These I have made the basis of my investigation.

The Venusberg makes its initial appearance in literature about the year 1440. Johannes Nider expresses his mingled doubt and credulity concerning the place in the question

1440 an veritas aliqua subsit his quae dicuntur de Monte Veneris, ubi cum pulcherrimis feminis dicuntur quidam frui luxuria et voluptate ad placitum. Respondet Guilelmus Parisiensis, quod ficticium est totum.

1 >

A little later Felix Hemmerlin in describing the mountain of the Sibyl in the Apennines which is so often called Venusberg says, to use Dubi's translation:

1450 Der Berg < Sibyllenberg > heisst gemeiniglich Venusberg.

2 >

At about the same time Aeneas Silvius wrote a letter to his brother in Italy asking

1450 an Veneris montem apud Italian sciret; nam ibi magicas artes tradi.

3 >

1. Johannes Nider, Praeceptorium divinae Legis, I cap. XI, G < after Kluge, Bunte Blätter, page 35 > 2. Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, vol. 17, page 251 3. Aeneas Silvius, List. famil. 46, < after Kluge, op. cit., page 31 >

In 1452 Das deutsche Heldenbuch tells of Eckart who sits before the mountain:

1452 Man sagt derselbe Eckart noch vor frau venus berg sey
biss ar jüngsten tag.vnd warnet alle die in den
berg gan wöllent.

4 >

Hermann von Sachsenheim shows a knowledge of the popular tradition in his Mörin.

1453 Davor <dem Gezelt> do stuond ain man, was graw,
Mit einem schönen, langen bart,
Als ob er wear der Eckhart,
Von dem man sagt, in Venusbergk.
By im da stuond ain klaines zwergk...
Der alt der smiert und graiff in bart
Und sprach 'raut zuo, nin lieber zwerg,
Wie kaem wir zuo frow Venus berg?...
Der schriber der was wolgemuot
Und sagt uns vil der fremde mer,
Was wonders in den landen wer,
Besunder in frow Venus berg,
Von frouwen, rittern, junckfrow, zwerg
Und manger hande kurczwil vil
Mit singen, sagen, saitenspil,
Busunnen, pffien mangerlay;
Er sagt uns ouch, wie das der may
Zuo aller zytt im berge wer,
Mang zierlikait von golde swer,
Gestain und berlu manigvalt.
'Swig, sufficit' sprach Eckhart alt.
'Sin ist genuog; du waist doch wol
Das yederman nit wissen sol,
Was wonders in dem berge sy.
All maister der philosophy
Das wunder nitt gemessen kann.'...
Es syen kommen frouwen vil
Dört her zuo Fenus uss dem berg.

5 >

A song which is very evidently a fragment based upon the story of Tanhäuser as it was told in the 16. century appears in the Karlsruhe manuscript; here Venus says to the departing knight:

1453 Tanhuser, ir selend nit truren,
ich bin die höchst in den berg,
al euwer schult sind ir vermuren.
ich han so vil der edlen zwerg,
helt die müssen dienen dir
mit stechen, singen, seitenspil,...

Tanhuser, nun bedenck dar an,
 da ir am ersten kamt her in,
 da wurdent ir empfangen schen
 von manigen roten mündelin:
 beliebet hier sij uns in dem berg,
 von uns sind ir nit wenden,
 ewer selend dienen mine zwerg,
 euwer truren gewint ein ende.

ach Venus, du bist sere betrogen,
 mit mengem bösen gaist behaft,... 6 >

In Der Tugenden Schatz of Meister Altswert the Venusberg appears:

1455 Da vor stuond ein zwerg, was clein,...
 Des bergs gedoz gap widerhal,
 Wan er was inwendig hol...
 Du solt nit mir gen in den berg,
 So sichstu wunderlich werc
 Von menger schöner zierheit...
 An der schoenheit verstarret ich...
 Von minen cleidern ich mich schiet,
 Ich tet an die cleider geswind...
 Dirre berg was fro Venus allein,...
 Daz zwerg sprach zuo mir: Gang furbaz
 Uz disem berge in daz gras!...
 Do sach ich manig mündlin rot
 Frölichen an eim tanze...
 Ich wen, man far durch al lant,
 Man vint den schimpf uf erden niht,
 Als ich iuch mit worten han vergiht.
 Sie triben hundert hand schimpf,... 7 >

Felix Faber gives it as his opinion that the Venusberg is in Cyprus,
 and neither in Germany nor in Italy. This is apparently the result
 of his travels in the East, for he wrote his account in 1483 after
 his return from a journey there. Speaking of Cyprus he says:

1483 Non autem solum viridarium Venus suo consecraverat
 ritui, sed montem civitati superimminentem libidinosus
 sevit plantulis et umbrosas cavernas in monte plurimas
 fieri fecit consecratas vel potius execratas suo cul-
 tui, unde mons ille nons Veneris nuncupatus est usque
 in hodiernum diem...Hunc ergo montem impudica Venus
 sibi sacravit per se ipsam et lucos instituit, neces-
 saria plantavit, speluncas fodit in tantum, ut ab intus
 habitationes quasi magnae et tenebrosae essent. Ali-
 quas cavernas fecit ad flendum Adonidem, ali-

quas ad luxuriandum. Adinstar autem illius montis multi successu temporis montes per mundum sunt consecrati Veneri, idea frequentissime in historiis nominatur montes Veneris. Et moderno tempore vulgus rudis delirat de quodam Tusciae monte, non longe a Roma in quo dicunt dominam Venerem deliciis frui cum quibusdam viris et foemenis. Unde de hoc carmen confictum habetur, quod manifeste a vulgo per Alemanniam canitur de quodam nobili Suevo, quem nominant Danhuser, de Danhusen villa prope Duncelspüchel. Hunc fingunt ad tempus in monte cum Venere fuisse, et cum poenitentia ductus Papae fuisset confessus, denegata fuit sibi absolutio, et ita regressus in montem nusquam comparuit, et in deliciis vivit, ut dicunt, usque ad diem iudicii. Ecce, quam facile homines in errores ducuntur credentes fictionibus! Nam Venerem mortuam et haud dubium damnatam, quae vivens numquam Europam vidit, credunt in Tusciae montibus degere. In tantum autem hac fama dementati sunt Alemanni ut multi simplices ad hos famatos peregrinentur montes, et dum contingit aliquem mori, amici sui famant, eum raptum a Venere in montem; alii redeunt dicunt se vidisse, quae a phantasticis auditu didicerunt. Unde tempore Nicolai papae quinti fuerunt sententiae latae contra adeuntis montes illos et canes rabidi in stricto locati, per quod aditus est ad suspectum sacrum. Et haec aevo nostro contigerunt. Ad hanc enim iatuitatem aevenunt gentes, ut quilibet crederet, in monte, quem Veneri consecraverat, eam esse in deliciis, ac si in pluribus locis esse posset unde super montes grandia templa aedificabant Veneri... Et hodie plures credunt Venerem in monte Veneris, qui est in insula Cypri, ducere vitam voluptuosam cum suis, cum qua canunt esse quendam dictum Tannhuser,...

8 >

Three years later comes Bernhardt von Breitenbach, apparently echoing Faber. He says of Venus

1486 denn da hat sie gewohnt <in Cyprus> und das Land Tuscia genant nie gesehen, da etlich Leut sie vermeinen in einen ^{berg} erstossen sein und grosse lust und Freud darin haben, da es doch nichts ist.

9 >

A Fastnachtspiel of the 1490 or thereabouts has Frau Welt in a dialogue with Tanhäuser, the theme of which is much the same as that of the folk-song.

1490 Und sol ich dich also verlysen,
du vil getrewer Tanheuser,

8. Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae etc., Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 4, page 150, 58b 9. Reise gein Jherusalem, <after Kluge, op. cit., p. 34>

und deynen sanck also verkysen,
 das ist mir ein leudes mer.
 Asterot die fragt nach dir,
 Fraw Venus lat dich in den berck:
 Bald so kom du hin zu ir,
 So empfahen dich die edeln twerck,
 Fraw Venus legdich an iren arm,
 die vil schon myngottinne,
 mit lieb so macht sie dir vil warn,
 die soltu treuten und mynnen...
 Frau Venus ist eya teuffelinne,
 wie sie leucht aus clarem gold. 10>

In the Dresden manuscript is a poem which has been printed as Das Kloster der Liebe by Lassberg in his Liedersaal. The poem itself has nothing to do with the Venusberg farther than to describe an imaginary cloister where men and women live together in freest of free love.

The manuscript, however, bears written above it the title

1491 De monte feneris agitur hic. 11>

So too Der Tugenden Schatz of Altswert in one of the manuscripts has the superscription in pencil

Vrau Venus berg.

The Narrenschiff of Sebastian Brant includes in its category of fools those who visit the mountain.

1494 Von biolern.
 Fraw Venus mit dem ströwen ars
 Byn nit die minst jm narren fars.
 Do wissen die wol sagen von
 Die in fraw venus berg wend gon
 Do hab ich narren vil verfiert
 Der mich nie keiner an hat geriert
 Den Tanhauser hab ich gezogen...
 Der teüfel hat sy all betrogen
 Ich zeu noch zuo mir narren vil
 Und mach ein gauch auss wem ich wil. 13>

The Glossarium of Diefenbach cites from an older lexicon of about 1495 the following definition.

1495 Venus...nunc dicitur frouw ven-us, -isst<mons>ven-us, -isberg.

14>

10. W. Golther, Walhalla 3, page 29 11. Hagen and Büsching, Grundriss, pp. 325, 336 12. op. cit., VIII 13. Uhland, op. cit., 4, 285-6
 14. page 611, under Venus; 65 varr. of sources cited.

In 1497 another traveler, Arnold von Harff, tries to localize the Venusberg, this time in Italy. He says while journeying through that country he determined to pay a visit to the region in which he believed the mountain to be.

1497

Die zo Noxa hoirten wir sagen van vrouw Venus berch, dae sij in vnsen landen vil wonder wercken van saichten beweechde ich mijn gesellen darzo, dat sij mir zo lieue eyn mijle wolden trecken vss den wege den berch zo besien. dat geschach. eirst quamen wir van Noxa oever eynden berch zo eyne steeten heyscht Arieet...

Item van desen steetgen Arieet tzogen wir zo eynden kleynen steetgen heyscht Norde. haert dae by licht vrou Venus berch, an wylchen berch an deme eynde licht eyn berch sloess, daer off woent eyn casteleyn des pays, dem wir zo allen geluck in desen steetgen vonden. ich maicht balde kuntschaff mit yeme ind saicht yem in latine, wie wir dae in der neynonge weren den berch vrou Venus zo besiene, as man vns in vnsen landen vil wonders dae van sechte. der casteleyn waert rich an lachen ind dedes vnss des avontz gar gude geselschaff. des morgens vro reyrt he mit vns an den berch. daer inne stund vil locher gehauwen, as vnder Valckenberch ader vnder Arieet, dae man vss dat steetgen ind dat slos gebouwet hait. ich geynck mit yeme in die locher. ich koent dae anders nyet zo sien krijgen, dan etzliche locher waeren zo geuallen ind etzliche stunden noch offen. Item wir tzogen myt dem casteleyn den berch vss, doe loyt hee vnss zo gast off dat sloessgen, dae hee vns den myttaich gar gude tzier an dede. Item nae myttaghe reyrt he mit vns oeven off desen berch. daer off stund eyn kleyn staynde see. by deser see stunt eyn kleyn cappellen wie eyn heyligen huys. dae inne stunt eyn kleyn altair. dae van saicht he vns, dat vurtziden doe die kunst der nigmancien in der werlt vnb geynck, doe lieffen dese seluigen off desen altair ind beswoeren dae den boesen geyst, drijvende dae yere nigmancie. Item as dat dan geschiet was hoyff sich off dat wasser des cleynen sees in eynden wolcken ind quam dan weder her aeff mit eyne donresslage, verarenckende dat gantze lant dae vnbtrijnt drij off vier mylen, so dat dat jair geyn korn dae en woyse.

Item dit en wolde dat volck nyet me lijden ind claget den castelangen dys sloss, der van stund an eyn upgereckde galge leyss settzen tusschen dat heyligen huysgen in die see ind dede verbieden dat niemans me off den elter nigmancie doyn en suylt. der aber dat dede den seult man an die galge hangen. Item dit vertzalt vnss der casteleyn alsus ind saicht vns, dat hee van geynden anderen saichen off der stat nyet me en wist. dae mit schieden wir van im ind tzogen zo Fossa-

ta off vnsen rechten weech. dit is eyn casteel van
Noxea gelegen 6 mylie.

15 >

From the close of the 15. century we have one of the most striking
and important references to this mountain of Venus anywhere to be
found in German literature. It occurs in the Saxon chronicle for
the first time printed by Caspar Abel in 1732.

1498 so meynen de Historien-Schriver düsse Jungling Helias
sy gekomen uthe dem Berghe, dar Venus in den Grale iss.

16 >

The same expression of credulity and doubt met with in the first
allusion to the Venusberg appears again in Geiler von Keiserberg's
Emeiss.

1509 was ist an Frau Venus' Berg, da si hinfahren und so gut
Leben da ist, so viel hübscher Frauen, so viel Tänzens
und Springens?

17 >

With the opening of the century enter the traveling scholars as visi-
tors to the Venusberg, and from then on they are mentioned with great
frequency in this connection. The Liber Vagatorum of 1510 describes
them.

1510 Vagierer sind Bettler oder Abenteurer, die ein gelb
Garn tragen und aus dem Venusberg kommen und die
Schwarze Kunst können und werden genannt fahrende
Schüler, wo sie in ein Haus kommen, sprechen sie: Hie
kommt ein fahrender Schüler, der sieben freien Künste
ein Meister, ein Beschwörer der Teufel für Hagel, für
Wetter und für alles nicht geheure, darnach so spricht
etliche Zauberformeln und macht zwei oder drei Kreuze
dann glauben die Bauern, er könne zaubern, und sind
froh, dass er gekommen ist, und sie haben nie keinen
fahrenden Schüler gesehen und sprechen zu dem Vagierer:
Das ist mir begegnet oder das; könnt ihr mir helfen,
ich wolt euch einen Gulden oder zwei geben. So spricht
er ja und betrügt den Bauern um sein Geld. Conclusio!
Vor diesen Vagieren hüt aich.

18 >

Another representative of the great Narrenliteratur of this period as well as Brant takes a fling at the folk myth of the Venusberg.

Thomas Murner in his Narrenbeschwörung of 1512, and in the Gäuchnatt of 1519 writes:

1512 Dornoch kurt uns der farendt schüler,
Uss frouw/Venus berg ein hüler,
Und kan villvom danhüser sagen
Und vber eynen babste klagen,
Der jm sin sündt nit ab wolt lon,
Und wir frouw Venus sey so schon, 19 >

1519 Frouw Venus berg.
Frouw Venus berg ist hie ein freyd,
Dort fart man dryn mit hertzen leyd;
Wēn zyttlich freyd gadt überzweg,
Das heiss ich dort frouw Venus berg! 20 >

1512 Heinrich Bebel inserts into his Argentorat a mention of the mountain, once more in connection with magic and the traveling scholars:

1512 Sunt quidem scholastici, qui cum nullius bonae frugis
sint neque operis, nec studeant nec laborare velint,
vagantur hinc inde mendicando, variisque artibus et
illusionibus atque praestigiis simplices rusticos cir-
cumveniunt, dicentes se fuisse in monte Veneris <nescio
quem mentientes> ubi omnem magiam didicerint,... 21 >

Again in his Triumphus Veneris he has it:

1515 Multo plura tamen mulier, sed rustica, simplex,
Porrigit occulte, simul ignorante marito,
Quae longum de caseolis lucrata per annum est.
Dum vagus ornate secretam gannit in auren,
Nescio quem fingens Veneris de monte profectum
Sese hinc esse magum, possit qui daemones atros
Imperio regere et compellere cuncta fateri
Abdita, quoque loco nummorum grata supellex
Thesaurusque ingens qua sit tellure sepultus. 22 >

Das Hoffgesindt Veneris also knows the popular tradition. Sachs writes:

1517 Ein in ein langen, groben bart,
 Der selbig heist der drew Eckart,
 Der kumbt her auss dem Venus perck,...
 'Hör, Venus, ich gib dir kein lob,
 Wiss, das ich bin ein Bawer grob,
 Hewen und dreschen ist mein werck,
 Ich wil nit in den Venus berg!...
 Darumb wolauff mit eil und jach;
 Wer mit uns wil, der kumb hernach!
 Wir wöllen in Fraw Venus Berg. 23 >

In the same tone as Faber and Breitenbach writes Melchior Zurgilgen:

1519 By derselben stat <Paphos> lit ein hoher Berg, wurd
 genant frow Venusberg, wan da hat sy gewonet und das
 land Tustraam also genant nie gesechen. Da ettlich
 lüt sie vermeinend im berg verschlossen sin und gros
 lust und freud darin haben, daran doch nichts ist. 24 >

What Johann Agricola says in his Sprichwörter in the year 1529 is of
 peculiar importance because of the light in which it puts Tanhäuser.

1529 dieweil nun der Thanhauser also mit leib und seele ver-
 dorben ist, sagen die Deutschen, der trewe Eckart
 sitze vor dem Venusberge und warne die Leute, sie
 sollen nicht hineyn gehen, es möchte ynen sonst er-
 geen wie dem Thanhauser. 25 >

Theophrastus Paracelsus who died in 1540 left this account of the
Venusberg story:

1540 so ist auch nicht minder, dass mit diesen pygmaeis ist
 der Venusberg in Italia besetzt gewesen, dann Venus
 selbst ist ein nymphe gewesen, und der Venusberg ist
 ihrem reich vergleicht worden. aber dieselbig ist auch
 abgestorben, darumb ist auch ihr reich mit ihr vergangen
 und hat aufgehört. dann wo hört man mehr von ihnen
 sagen, wie vor alten zeiten, da der Dⁿhauser und an-
 dere mehr sind darinnen gewesen? und ist solches von
 ihm kein fabelgedicht, sondern ein wahrhaftig geschicht
 und in den chirurg. schriften: etlich die seiend hoch
 daran, practicieren heimlich und verborgen nigroman-
 ciam, als campisirer, die kommen aus dem Venusberg und
 haben ihr kunst getauft in Veltliner und haben mit dem
 bruder Eckart mettin betet und mit dem ^{Tanhäuser} ein blutwurst
 gessen. 26 >

23. Neudrucke d. Lit., vol. 9, pages 12, 16, 20 24. Dübi, Zeitschrift
 des Vereins für Volkskunde, vol. 17, page 260 25. Golther, op.
 cit., page 26 26. Werke, Strassb. 1616. 2, 291c <Grimm, Deutsche
 Mythologie, page 780, note>

Quite another touch is added by the next reference; the idea of the furious host is here for the first time connected with the Venusberg.

1544 Cuidam alii fuerunt, scholastici rudes perditaeque spei, qui in humeris parvum reticulum flavum gestabant, tanquam cappam. Hi se appellabant volaticos vel erraticos scholasticos. Fingebant^o apud rusticos et homines simplices, se in monte Veneris fuisse, mira vidisse, scire, quae essent, quae fuissent, quae ventura essent etc. Se potestatem habere in Furiis, vel exercitum furiosum, in quo essent omnes infantes non baptizati, omnes in pugnis caesi, omnes ecstatici, in quorum corpora animae, quae evolassent, non rediissent etc.

27 >

In 1545 Sachs again brings the Venusberg into one of his works. This time it is Der Doktor im Venus-perg.

1545 Der doctor fragt umb neue mer,
Da sagtens im ain fabel her,
Vom Venus-perg und schönen frawen,
Gar minniclich und schön zⁿ schawen,
Auch wie sie alle zwen gemein
All pfinztage-necht fueren darein...
Pat, das sieⁿ zw diesem werck
Auch mit in in fraw Venus perck
Liessen faren...
Wenⁿ stilstüend <das Tier> von seinem lawff,
Solt er stilschweigent sitzen auff,
Das wüert in Venus-perg in dragen. 28 >

In Der farendt schuler im paradeiss:

1550 Ich bin in Venus-berg gewesen,
Da hab ich gsehen manchen buler. 29 >

Again in Das unhulden-bannen he has it:

1556 Ein fahrender schuler zu ihm eintrat,
Wie sie denn umbgiengen vor jarn
Und lauter pawren-^bscheisser warn.
Der sagt her grosse wunderwerck,
Wie er kem auss dem Venus-berck,
Wer ein meyster der schwartzen kunst.
30 >

27. Crusius, Die schwäbische Chronik, II, 653 - 4 <after Uhland, op. cit., vol. 2, page 233> 28. Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 201, p. 319, lines 10 - 15; 18 - 20; p. 320, lines 10 - 12 29. Hans Sachs, Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 159, page 73, 30. ibid. vol. 125, page 271, ll. 15-20

Three years later, in 1559, the myth appears in his Der pauren knecht
it der nebelkappen and Die unsichtige nacket haussmagdt.

1559 Der ein antwort: Wir kom~~en~~ her
All beide auss dem Venus-berck..
Und bringen mit uns sollich kunst,
Dergleich nicht ist auff erden sunst.

Wie man nachts aussfuhr auff der gabel
Und auff dem bock in Venus-berck,
Dorinn man sech gross wunderwerck 31 >

The subject was one which readily lent itself to treatment in the Schwankliteratur, as indeed Sachs' use of it often suggests. Martin Montanus', Gartengesellschaft, tells of a traveling scholar who had come from the Venusberg and fooled a farmer.

1556 Er antwort unnd sprach, er were ein fahrender schüler
unnd keme aus fraw Venus berg...Der maier fragt in
weiter, wie es in fraw Venus berg stünde, ob der Dan-
heuser noch lebte unnd ob er auch etwas mit der
schwartzten kunst kundte.

32 >

The Zimmrische Chronik of 1565 in describing the French court and its voluptuousness states that

1565 ^{eillich} het ^{das} Circeum oder Veneris berg megen genennt werden.

or as it has it in another place:

hett auch fraw Venusperg <kunden> genennt werden, darin
man sprucht sovil freuden sein.

Later in the same account we are told of another travelling scholar who

nam sich an, were ain fahrender schuoler und mermals in
fraw Venus berg... Er sagt auch fur wahr, das er...in
fraw Venus perg gefaren were und het ain burger...mit
sich genomen. Nun weren sie durch alle luften uf
zwaien kelbern gefarn...Und wiewol das mit fraw Venus
berg fur ain fabel und erdicht ding geachtet wurt, so

ist doch nichts gewissers, dann das bei unsern vordern vil dieselbig abentheuren versucht, in den berg gewesen, auch ains thails die schwarzen kunst darin gelern^t, sich vahrende schuoler genempt und ^{von} anderparlichen, ungleublichen sachen reden haben kunden; es sein auch deren ainsthails darin bliben. Es sein ^{auch} mit allain schlechte leut mit disem Venusberg w^ungen, sonder auch fursten und andere, die in hohem ansehen gewesen. Dess findt man ain exempel in Anea Silvio, in seinen sendbriefen, im ersten buch, das er seinem bruder schreibt und begert, das er ain Deutschen, den er zu ime schickt, bericht ge^h, wo der Venusberg in Italia und wie es ain gestalt darum hab. Zaigt darbei an, das ein furnemer und reicher man, ein medicus bei den herzogen von Sachsen, solchs zu wissen begere; begert darneben, das er dem werber anlaitung geb an ein gelerten man der kaiserlichen rechten, genant Savinus, der hab im hievor aller hand gelegenhait darvon anzaicht. Und wie man sagt, so ist dozunal der herzog von Sachsen selbs mit diser hantirung umgangen, der durch den Silvium den bericht hat begert zu überkommen. ...Als nun...sein wirt...auch die kauffleut von fraw Venus berg und der schwarzen kunst vil mit im gespracht und er inen gueten beschaid geben, haben sie in gebetten, so er was von solcher kunst berichten, das er inen was zu ainer kurzweil und schimpfbossen erzaigen well...Er hat furgeben, wie er kappassomen unser fraw Venus berg gebracht...Derhalben, als dozunal die vahrenden schueler im landt darafter zugen, die sich der schwarzen kunst annamen und sich hören liesen, sie weren in fraw Venus perg gewesen, so berueft diser herr...ain solchen...

33 >

The Weimar Manuscript contains a song entitled Ein Lied vom Venusberg. There we read:

1575 In meiner jugent man mir seit,
wie das im Venusberg wer grosses winder...
in Venusberg tet ich nach winder kere.

34 >

This about the year 1575. In 1588 Johann Fischart makes his first mention of the mountain of Venus, in the Ernewerte Beschreibung vom Herrn Petern von Stauffenberg.

1588 Oder aus Artus Messenei,
So die Tafelrund bsetzen frei?
Oder wollen wir wecken auff
Inn Venusberg den schläffrigen Hauf,
Den Tanhäuser und Sachs^enheymer,

33. ibid., vol. 93, 338; 91, 435; 92, 80, 81, 83, 85; 94, 408

34. Golther, op. cit., page 32; cf. Germania 28, 44 ff.

Die doch darbei sind gute Keimer,
 Sampt jres Treuen Eckarts Zwerg,
 Der sie bei Brisach fuhr inn Berg?

35 >

Six years later comes his second reference, almost as weighty for our purposes as that of the Saxon Chronicle a century before.

1594 Wir wolln den Grall oder Venusberg besuchen.

So ends the century and with the entrance of the next a new tone comes at once into the things which are said about the Venusberg. The credulity has disappeared and a more reflective, objective spirit prevails. Melchior Golaast who opens the century is not telling of anything which he believes or anyone of his time is likely to believe, when in his Paraeneticorum veterum of the year 1604 he says:

1604 in carmine de Tanhuser, quod vulgo cantatur et circumfertur, § ult. Da russ er dur den Bapst Urban öch ewig sin verloren. Nempe Urbanus papa in causa fuit, ut in Veneris montem, h.e. lupanaria, in quibus volutatus erat, Tanhuser redierit, aeternum pereundus. Vulgo legitur für den Bapst, sensu improbu. Carminis aut fallor aut ipse Tanhuser auctor, quia partibus Imperatoris contra Papam steterat, in hujusque contumeliam carmen hoc videtur composuisse.

36 >

A few years later we find a most peculiar account related by Dr. Libarius in the Cista Medica.

1608 Prid. Cal. febr. prisci, eram Turnavii apud Nobilem quendam, ubi mira quaedam seu Melancholia seu Ecstasis <qualem pati solent Lycanthropi> oblata est. Distat inde pagus dimidio miliari, Bestenium dictus. In eo puer quidem Rusticus circiter XIII annorum cui nomen Petrus, sese frigore intensissimo abdiderat, sub stabulum quoddam raptum, ibi ad nescio quae loca montis Veneris, in quo videret omnia per quam laute exornata, et homines bibentes quidem, sed mox a potu fumum patentis ore reddentes... Orare jussus non poterat. Taciturnus, austeram faciem habebat, cum ibi combusta, cum in monte Veneris per prunas incesserit, dixit, quae erant frigore enecta... Non posse aliter, dixit, quod cogeretur a quodam Nigro...

In this same passage we are told how when once he was prevented from going out of the house the boy

concidit post fornacem , ibique jacuit tanquam sensu orbatus.

37 >

Kornmann prefaces his poem of Tannhäuser < one of the versions of the folksong > with the notice:

1614 Mons Veneris. Fraw Veneris Berg. Das ist Vunderbare und eigentliche Beschreibung des alten Haydnischen und Newen Scribenten Meynung, von der Göttin Venere.

38 >

In the Hessische Hexenprocessacten , going back apparently to the middle of the 17. century occurs a very illuminating account of all Venusberg was at that time considered to mean.

1650 es sei umb 8 jahr, dass ihme weib und kinder gestorben, darüber er sehr bestürzt worden, da habe er sich ge-
leget und geschlaffen, und nach dem er erwacht, be-
funden, dass er in fraw Venus berg gewesen, hette er
mancherlei sachen und dass fraw Holt einen kessel mit
wasser übergehengt, und sonst gesehen, dass etzliche
im feuer gesessen; uff dem angesicht gelegen, essen-
speiss und weinkanten vor sich gehabt, doch brots in
mangel gestanden; er hörte aber nicht lesen; es ginge
nichts böses vor, doch wolte er dass er nie mit zu
thun gehabt; fraw Holt die führ voranen in den berg,
deren folgten leut, die man aber nicht kennen kont,
dan sie praesentiren sich nurent als ein schein, und
auch vieh, die pferd die locken hetten, führen ge-
meinlich darein und weren doch die besten pferd; es
were einer im berg, wie ein pfarrer, mit deme redete
fraw Holt, aber nicht viel, darnach waschete und ver-
binde sie die leut, so lam und mangel an schenkeln
hetten; uff befragen, was sie dan redeten, sagt er
Thiel, der berg were gross, dass man nurent den schall
hörete; es weren auch leut darinnen die schon brenten,
...; die fahrt in Venusberg geschehe uff den neuen
jars tag, er wüst selbst nicht, wie er darein keme;
Last Ludwig schultheis zu Schlibach were im feuer ge-
sessen, der nun verstorben; er hette, dass er von hie
einem gesagt, verstanden, hie uff dieser welt; er
wiste nicht zusagen, wie er in berg keme, dan er legte
und schlieff...fraw Holt were von forn^{hau} wie ein fein
weibsmensch, aber hinden her wie ein holer baum von
rauhem rinden; im Venusberg hette er das gekreut zum
theil lernen kennen... die andern so im Venusberg sich
befinden sonderlich fraw Holt hette gewist, dass er
aussgestrichen und solches vor ein straff erkant...
keinem bauersmann dürfte er etwas davon sagen, würde

sonst ubel ausgelassen, aber seiner lieben obrigkeit wolte er nichts verhelen...; man hörte auch liebliche psalmen singen, sehe aber nicht, woher solches keme, es were der berg wie ein zimlich gross gewelbter keller ...wer vleissig pete und den armen gebe, der keme wieder herauss;... sie koseten nichts, als der man der bei tisch seße mit fraw Holden... as ubels von einem gethan würde, das sehe er in Venusberg, dan derselbe stünde da im fegfeuer; weiter bekente er Thiel, dass er das jahr über viernal nemblich alle fronfasten in berg führe....
 Gard Diel Brugell den 24. nov. 1632 zu Budinggen uff dem Linderwerth justificiert und a usserhalb der maur am kirchhof begraben.

39 >

Frölich in his Viatorum, II, 114 of the year 1644 returns to the Italian localization:

1644 In Apennino monte Marchiae Anconiae in Italia immane horribileque est antrum quod Sibyllae caverna vel Mons Veneris vulgo dicitur, de quo superstitiosi multa fabulosa recitare solent.

40 >

Still another attempt to explain the Venusberg and that too in a most peculiar way appears in 1669 in Prätorius's Anthropodermus Plutonicus.

1669 Von der Veneris Liebe, weiss heutiges Tages die ungezogene Jugend und die unkeusche Hertzen, viel zu sagen: Man soll aber wissen, dass der Venus-Berg nicht herkomme von der Göttin Venere, auch hat solchen Cupido, das Wald-Schälklein, nicht erfunden; Sondern es hat auff einem hohen Berge eine Wasser-frau gewohnet, so eine Königin derselben Revier gewesen, und weiln der Berg hohl, sind viel Zwerglein oder Pygmaei dahin kommen, mit ihr Freundschaft zu halten, und weiln dieselbe Königin gelebet, hat niemand solch Schluffloch erfahren. Nach ihrem Tode aber sind es die andern Zwerge gar inne worden, den Berg darauf den Venus-Berg oder Liebes-Berg genennet und geheissen. Wer aber mehrers wissen will hiervon, was der Wasserfrauen ihr Thun und Wesen gewesen sei, der lese Theophrasti, von diesem und andern mehr, seine Schriften.

41 >

Sigismund von Birken in his Brandenbergischer Ulysses <1669> in speaking of the Sibyl says:

1669 Noch eine solche Sibyllen-Höle ist zu finden auf dem Gebirge Apennine unfern von dem Castel S. Maria in Gallo, welche von dem Anwohnern der Venus-Berg genennt

39. Wolf, Zs. f. d. Myth., I, 272 ff.

40. Kluge, op. cit., 59

41. Grässe, op. cit., 17, 18

und viel Dings davon gefabelt wird.

42 >

The famous Simplicissimus contains references to the Venusberg:

1669 Sagte derowegen, ich seye ein fahrender Schuler, der
jetzo erst auss dem Venus-Berg kome und ein ganzen
Haufen wunderliche Künst gelernet hätte.

Simplex, Beau Alman geheissen, der wird gantz wider
Willen in Venus-Berg geführt.

43 >

An old lexicon of 1688 thus defines Venusberg:

1688 Fiscellus mons unde Nar fl. oritur. Mons Sibyllae vul-
go.

44 >

Abel's Teutsche und Sächsische Alterthümer first printed in 1729 in
attempting to establish certain facts about the King Tanaus as a
forerunner of Germanic dynasty goes on to say, after it has been told
how this same Tanaus settled in Asia after his victory, that this is
symbolic.

1729 es haben solches auch die alten Teutschen zu verstehen
gegeben, wann sie von dem Tannhäuser erdichtet, er sey
in den Venus-Berg gegangen, und nicht wieder heraus-
gekommen.

45 >

Time of Appearance.

The Venusberg makes its first appearance

about the year 1440 with the references of

Nider and Hemmerlin. Dübi's statement concerning Hemmerlin is mis-
leading, for what the latter says happened in 1413 contains no men-
tion of the name Venusberg. I quote Dübi's digest of this portion of
Hemmerlin's account:

42. Kluge, op. cit., page 60
plicissimus, V, 17; IV, 4

43. J.J.C. von Grimmelshausen, Sim-
44. Kluge, op. cit., page 59

45. page 39

Zur Zeit, wo der Papst Johann XXIII. mit der Kurie in Bologna verweilte, hat Hemmerlin einen 'einfaltigen' <simplicianus> Mann aus Schwyz gesehen, der bekante, dass er in diesen Bergen bei den unsauberen Geistern ein Jahr in Wollust zugebracht habe. Wegen seiner aufrichtigen Reue und mit Worten und Gefährten bezeugten Zerknirschung über die mit Verläugnung der gesegneten Jungfrau und aller Heiligen und Verzicht auf die Gnade Gottes verknüpften Sünde wurde ihm auf Veranlassung Hemmerlins durch einen päpstlichen Beichtiger in der Kirche des h. Petronius zu Bologna die Absolution zuteil. Auf Befragen berichtete er ausführlich, wie er mit zwei Gefährten aus Deutschland <Alemania> in die Grotten eindrungen sei. Sie fanden darin einen reizenden, ebenen Platz. Er gieng einem von den Kreuzgang umschlossenen grossen Klostergarten, mit zwölf Türen im Hintergrunde, durch welche man nach freier Wahl zu zwölf nach den Monaten klimatisch wechselnden Gärten gelangte... Ebenso frei und wechselnd ist der 'tröstliche' Verkehr mit den schönen Frauen und der Genuss eines mit allen Reizen jugendlicher und weltlicher Lustbarkeit geschmückten Lebens. Aber ein wohlmeinender Greis warnt beim Eintritt den Schwyzer und seine Gefährten, nicht über ein Jahr zu verweilen, sonst müssten sie immer in dem Berge bleiben. Er wiederholt die Warnung nach einem Jahre, das den Erschrockenen wie ein Monat verflossen ist. Während seine Gefährten, durch die wunderbaren Erzählungen der Frauen verführt, bleiben, entrinnt der Schwyzer einzig. Er hat auch drinnen verschiedene zu ewigem Bleiben verdamnte Personen aus verschiedenen Ländern, namentlich aus England, gesehen, unter anderen einen alten <antiquum> Mann und seinen Sohn, die an der allgemeinen Freude keinen Anteil nahmen.

46 >

That Hemmerlin in 1440, when he wrote down this account, says the mountain is commonly called Venusberg in no way implies that it was called Venusberg in 1413, when this occurrence probably took place, if it took place at all, and in fact the Swiss neither names any one of the women therein nor singles any one of them out as queen nor does he give any name to the mountain in which he was.

Johann Nider says that William of Paris <William of Auvergne> speaks of the Venusberg. This, however, is again not the fact, for

#6. Felix Hemmerlin, De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus <Basel 1497> cap 26, S. XCIIII <after Dübi, op. cit., page 251 - 2>

although Paris seems to be speaking of such a place, yet we do not apply that name to it. 47 > Grimm's assumption that the Venusberg probably first appeared in Die Kinder von Limborch, an assumption followed by Grässe's and Carl Meyer's statements that it is there, 48 > upon which certain encyclopedias have again based their statements to the same effect, 49 > should long ago have been corrected, since the poem was printed as early as 1846, contains not a word of the Venusberg.

Belief in the Venusberg.

From the really large number of references to the Venusberg myth made by Germans, which have come down to us we must infer that it was extremely popular in its day in Germany and was widely believed. Reference after reference tells us of how people actually seek or profess to seek the place: Silvius 1450, Das deutsche Heldenbuch 1452, Faber 1483 Brant 1494, Harff 1497, Keisersperg 1509, Liber Vagatorum 1510, Bebel 1512, Agricola 1529, Paracelsus 1540, Crusius 1544, Sachs 1545, 1550, 1556, 1559, Montanus 1557, Die Zimmarische Chronik 1565, Weimar ms. 1575, Fischart 1588, 1594, Rotenburg 1608, Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1650, Grimmelshausen 1669. Even in such cases as express a certain doubt we find an undertone of astonishing credulity. So Nider 1440, Silvius 1450, Faber 1483, Breitenbach 1486, who merely denies the location in Italy; Keisersperg 1509, Die Zimmarische Chronik 1565, Prätorius 1669. The great physician of the middle ages, Paracelsus 1540, expresses his full conviction that such a place really exists,

47. Kluge, op. cit., page 35, note 48. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, page 780, note; Grässe, op. cit., page 17; Carl Meyer, Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters, page 245 49. Meyer, Konversationslexikon, under Venusberg; New International Encyclopedia, ibid.

as do also Die Zimmarische Chronik and Prätories. Even the greatest enlightenment of that day could not remove from German thought this wide-spread and popular belief. Compare here Die Zimmarische Chronik 1565. And yet this same belief in a hollow-mountain love paradise seems to have been practically unknown elsewhere.

Localization. In the great majority of the instances cited to attempt whatever has been made to localize the Venusberg, nor is any attention paid to that phase of the question. Bebel 1512, frankly confesses he has no knowledge where it is. A number, - although I must here pause to emphasize that it is really a relatively small number, - identify it with a mountain in the Italian Apennines. Hemmerlin 1450, Silvius 1450, Harff 1497, Paracelsus 1540, Fischart 1594, Frölich 1644, Birken 1669, Schörsleder 1688, thus assign the Venusberg to Italy. To Cyprus it is assigned by Faber 1483, Breitenbach 1486, and Zurgilgen 1519, but these men also know of the tradition that it is in Italy. Fischart 1588 puts it near Breisach, which seems to be the earliest known attempt to localize the Venusberg in Germany, popular as that practice later became. These men are all scholars, and this fact considered together with the great number who fail to account for the location of the Venusberg, puts their work under the suspicion of being purely a scholarly attempt to give a logical localization, as I have shown in my discussion of the Italian accounts of a hollow-mountain love realm in Italy.

Occupants. The occupants of the mountain of Venus are Venus herself, Tanhäuser, Daniel, Sachsenheim, Frau Holda, Eck-

art, many men and beautiful women, a priest, dwarfs, travelling scholars and others interested in magic. The first two appear in the folk songs and many of the other references. Daniel is found in the song Van heer Danielken. 50 > Sachsenheim is mentioned by Fischart 1588. Holda and the priest in 1650. Eckart is named in Das deutsche Heldenbuch 1452, Sachsenheim 1453, Sachs 1517, Agricola 1529, Fischart 1588, 1594. The dwarfs are of frequent appearance: Sachsenheim 1453, Altswert 1453, Fastnachtspiel 1490, Paracelsus 1540, Fischart 1588, Prätorius 1669. Their entrance into the story is, I am sure, simply a mixture of two notions, first that dwarfs inhabited hollow mountains and underground abodes, and second the notion of a hollow-mountain paradise. Their role is never prominent and they seem always to play the part of servants in connection with the Venusberg. Such a combination is fully evident in the account of Prätorius 1669. The traveling scholars do not appear until after the 16. century is well under way, and they are particularly associated with the magic for which the Venusberg had become famous: Liber Vagatorum 1510, Mörner 1512, Bebel 1512, Crusius 1544, Sachs 1550, 1556, 1559, Montanus 1557, Die Zimmarische Chronik 1565, Grimmelshausen 1669.

Character of the Venusberg.

The many things which are attributed to the Venusberg during the two centuries in which it was prominent are nearly all summed up in that really remarkable composite found in the Proceedings of the Hessian Witch Trials of 1650. There are love and magic, a queen, the furious host, a priest as in the paradisaical mountain of the Wartburgkrieg, a table, the fair and foul Frau Welt, the dreamland route. Most of these characteristics appear scattered through the earlier accounts. Hermerlin adds the

50. Grässe, op. cit., pages 58 - 61

significant feature of the old man from England and his sons who are in this place. 51 >

The Venusberg seems to be ruled by a king and queen. The Mörs 1453 has Tanhäuser as king of the place. The folk song represents Venus as pleading with him as an equal and promising him the service of her dwarfs. In the song of Daniel she welcomes his return by setting out a chair for him, pouring him wine in a golden bowl and affording him her love. Abel's Sächsische Alterthümer compares him and his story with that of King Tanaus who was seduced by the allurements of the East, just as Tanhäuser was enticed into the Venusberg. 52 > In Diefenbach's definition of Gralus, which goes back of the year 1425 we read that it is

eyn ghelogen dynck dat eyn koning sy dar de lude
leven in vrolicheyt wente an de jongesten dach.

53 >

Aside from the name, the place here described is evidently the Venusberg in which Tanhäuser is to remain to the day of doom.

The Venusberg is also a paradisaical abode. This feature appears from the start; so Nider 1440, Sachsenheim 1453, Karlsruhe ms. 1453, Harff 1483, Breitenbach 1486, Fastnachtspiel 1490, Dresden ms. no. 68 1491, Saxon Chronicle 1498, Keisersperg 1509, Murner 1512, 1519, Sachs 1545, 1550, Die Zimmerische Chronik 1565, Fischart 1594, Rotenburg 1608, Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1630, Grimmelshausen 1669, Prätorius 1669. The paradisaical qualities are the enjoyment of sensual love, most frankly recognized by Goldast 1604, of an abundance

51. Dubi, op. cit., page 252

52. Abel, op. cit., page 39 f

53. Diefenbach, Glossarium, under Gralus and 22b of the works cited as sources

to eat and drink, and the presence of great splendor and warlike amusement. The Möriu 1453 and the Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1650 show all these best, as well as the added feature that these things are not for ordinary mortals to know. Let these two passages be compared with the description of the Grail paradise of the Wartburgkrieg 54 > and a striking similarity will at once become apparent. The name Venusberg is once directly associated with that of paradise, as so often happened in the case of the Grail:

auf Venesberg und in das paradis.

55 >

The Venusberg is really the beyond or evil other-world. I call attention first to the frequent method by which it is reached, as shown in Sachsenheim 1453, Sachs 1517, 1545, 1559, Die Zimbrische Chronik 1535, Rotenburg 1608, Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1650. By means of a potion, by flying through the air upon some sort of steed - a nightmare, goat, calf - by lying down to sleep, by falling into a trance, and usually by night, these are the ways, and all point to the fact that the place is not of this earth. So the Swan Knight and Sceaf came sleeping from the beyond. Sleep has ever been regarded as a symbol for passing to the beyond, as the twin brother of death. 56 > So too in Abel's chronicle 57 > the Swan Knight by night disappears from his bed in the twinkling of an eye, returning to the unknown whence he had come. The connection of the furious host myth with the Venusberg is further proof that the latter is the other-world, for the the furious host is itself a troupe of departed spirits, - doubtless earlier the einherjar of Wodan, distorted by Christian influence

54. Wartburgkrieg, ed. Simrock, stanzas 83 - 87

55. Trimm, 887

Germania 1, page 429, note 2

56. cf. Müller,
57. Abel, Sammlung < 1732 > page 56

into a band of devilish spirits. This connection appears in Sachs 1517, Crusius 1544, Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1650. Fischart's statement about the sleepy troupe within the Venusberg 1588 contains the same idea of the spirit world beyond. So too the lines from the folk song:

Und sölt ich leben nun ain jar,
 ain jar auf diser erden,
 so wölt ich beicht und buoss empfahn
 und gottes trost erwerben. 58 >

The furious host furthermore rested within a mountain, and the starting point of those myths and legends of a king and his host within the hill asleep, such as that of König Dan, Charlemagne, Barbarossa is the idea of the furious host at rest.

The devilish characteristics of the Venusberg are so often mentioned as to need little comment. Das deutsche Heldenbuch 1452, Faber 1483, Breitenbach 1486, Fastnachtspiel 1490, Brant 1494, Harff 1497, Murner 1512, 1519, Agricola 1529, Paracelsus 1540, Crusius 1544, Montanus 1557, Rotenburg 1608, Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1650 and the folk songs all contain it. We learn from these passages that the occupants are there to the day of doom, that Venus is called a devil and is in league with his Satanic majesty, that Eckart warns those who would enter, and that Venus is regarded as a damned mortal, banished to this hollow-mountain realm. I would also call attention to the times at which trips to the place are undertaken. Sachs 1545, says it is the night of Whitsuntide, the Hessische Hexenprocessacten 1650 names Corpus Christi day. As in Barbarino's mount of the Sibyl the women are turned to snakes and adders while the pope is saying mass in Rome, from Saturday to Monday, so here upon particularly holy

days the evil minded fly most easily from this world to the Venusberg; a sort of banishment of evil spirits by the power of good seems here to be meant. The appearance of the Venusberg in the Harrenliteratur, Brant 1494, Murner 1512, 1519, is not only evidence of its popularity but also of its evil reputation.

The name itself is often used merely as a symbol and has no especial reference to the Roman goddess of love. It is frequently spelled in such a way as to lead us to doubt whether its real origin was understood. Das deutsche Heldenbuch 1492, Dresden ms. no. 68 1491, Diefenbach 1495, Jone's Anzeiger show spellings either uncaptialized, with an f, or with the last syllable perverted. The lack of direct connection between the title of Dresden ms. no. 68

de monte feneris agitur hic

and the content of the poem which follows shows the name is here too merely a symbol. So Murner 1519 uses it and Goldast 1604 and Grimmelshausen 1669.

The ideas of love and magic in connection with the Venusberg seem to be almost equally prominent and practically inseparable. This is really to be expected from the nature of the place. Such a splendid realm within a mountain in itself implies magic, and the seductive queen furnishes the amorous element. It is interesting to note, however, that the especial emphasis upon the magic there to be found does not begin until the 16. century. Before that time it is relatively speaking in the background, just as in the Grail mountain prominent though the idea of magic may be it never rises to the point where we hear of that place as the high seat of the black art. As I have shown elsewhere, it was owing to the fact that the Grail mountain became identified with the mountain in Norcia and that later the

Grail mountain passed over into the Venusberg, but the latter became known as the abode of magic. The great activity of the 16. century Germany in pursuit of magic and the identity of Sibyl-Grail and Venusberg, connected with the fact that the former was known to be localized at Norcia also brought the Venusberg into the same light.

Origin of the Venusberg Idea.

The idea of a hollow-mountain realm of love is of German origin. Germans persistently sought the place and talked about it. The references in support of this statement I have given earlier in the present chapter. Only two Italian accounts, which themselves are from the German, describe such a hollow-mountain paradise. The number of references in Germany is, on the other hand, so large and extends over so long a period of time that we must admit the idea to be of German origin from the sheer weight of evidence on the German side and the utter lack of it in any other quarter. Of all those who seek to localize the Venusberg in Italy, furthermore, all but two are Germans. We are told that many Germans go in search of the place in Italy and how Germans are in the mountain in that country. I can give no better summary of this phase of the argument than to cite from Kluge:

Deutsche Reisende haben bei ihren Besuchen auf dem sagenberühnten Monte della Sibilla die **deutsche** Tannhäusersage dorthin getragen. Und bei den wiederholten Nachforschungen, die **Deutsche** dort anstellten, bürger- te sich allmählich, wenn auch vorübergehend unsere Tannhäusersage dort ein. Was la Sale dort in Mai 1420 erzählen hörte, war die **deutsche** Sage wie sie ja auch von einem **deutschen** Ritter handelt.

In der Tat sind die **Deutschen** am Ausgang des Mittelalters zu meist interessiert für den Monte della Sibilla. In der Eingangsgrotte zum unterirdischen Reich der Sibylle kopierte der sorgfältigste Geograph des Sagenberges, la Sale, die Inschrift, 'Her **hans** **Wanbanbourg** Borg intravit', also ein **deutscher** Ritter

hatte sich hier verewigt. In Montefranco hörte derselbe la Sale von zwei **Deutschen**, die mit dem Geistlichen Antonio Fomato die Grotte besucht haben. Um die gleiche Zeit soll nach dem Züricher Chorherrn Hemmerlin in seinen um 1450 geschriebenen, aber erst 1497 gedruckten Dialogus 'de Nobilitate' (Bl. 94a) ein **Schwyz**er nahe bei Norcia und dem Kastell Montefortino den Sibyllenberg besucht und daselbst mit schönen weiblichen Geistern sich aufgehalten haben. Ungefähr um dieselbe Zeit, in die der **Kölner Arrolt v. Harff** seinen allerdings mehr als problematischen Besuch des Venusbergs verlegt, berichtet das Evagatorium des **Ulmer Bruders Felix Fabri**, der in den 80er Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts zweimal zum gelobten Lande pilgerte, bei Gelegenheit der Insel Cyporn und der daselbst lokalisierten Venusverehrung auch von dem Venusberg auf dem Apennin, unweit von Rom; er verknüpft das **Tannhäuserlied** damit und weiss auch davon zu berichten, dass es gerade **Deutsche** sind, die es dorthin zieht...

Und vom Venusberg unserer fahrenden Schuler wissen auch die romanischen Quellen, dass es in erster Linie **Deutsche** sind, **deutsche Schwarzkünstler**, die ihn zu ihrem Reiseziel machen.

59 >

During the early centuries of modern times the most persistent attempt to localize the Venusberg directed itself as we have seen to a certain mountain in the Apennines in the Italian province of Spoleto, otherwise known as the Pilatusberg or Sibyllenberg. In recent years other learned scholars, like Hemmerlin, Silvius et al. of the 15., 16., and 17. centuries have even assumed an Italian origin for the German Mountain of Venus. Chief among these are Gaston Paris, followed by Dübi, Söderhjelm and Kluge, all of whom save Kluge assume a like origin for the Tannhäuser story in general. Kluge insists merely upon an Italian provenience for the Venusberg itself. The essentials of their argument are that as early as 1391 the Italian Andrea da Barbarino wrote a romance whose hero, among his many other adventures, goes to this mountain of the Sibyl, enters, beholds the magic beauty of the place and its inhabitants, successfully withstands the Sibyl queen's blandishments, comes out, goes to the pope and re-

ceives a prompt and full absolution. To it is fact the champions of the Italian theory 60 > add yet another, that in 1440 a fellow-countryman of Barbarino, Antoine de la Sale, wrote as one of the episodes of his kaleidoscopic Salade, an account of a German knight who with his squire entered the same mountain of the Sibyl, saw its beauties, yielded to its amorous queen, came out, went to the pope and was refused absolution, after which he returned into the mountain, never to appear again. 61 > In this version the pope is secretly rejoiced at the knight's penitence, but in order to make it sure and complete decides to withhold forgiveness and puts on a stern front towards the anxious sinner. The similarity of the hollow-mountain paradise here described and the Venusberg is unmistakable, and the story as a whole bears undoubted likeness to that of Tannhäuser. Both are earlier than the German accounts, therefore they are their source, - so runs the argument which is after all entirely fallacious and of the ost ergo propter type.

The Guerino of Barbarino is a working over of a story in which the hero is not successful in his resistance to temptation and is not forgiven. The moral tone is evidently made to conform to the impeccable character of Guerino in the rest of the romance of which this episode forms but a part. Paris and all the others who have studied the problem agree on this. That is as much as to say, Barbarino has

60. Paris, Légendes du Moyen Age, pages 67 - 145; Dübi, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, 17, pages 249 - 264; Söderhjelm, Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique à Helsingfors, II, pages 101 - 167; Kluge, Bunte Blätter, pages 28 - 60. Andrea da Barbarino, Guerino il Meschino <ed. Salani, Firenze, without date, Part V>

61. Antoine de la Sale, La Salade, Du mont de la Sibille, after Söderhjelm, op. cit., pages 108 - 134

a source. No story has been found either in Italian or French literature which could have served as that source. 62 >

Not over fifty years later and perhaps much less comes la Sale's Salade. The character of his account is strikingly different in tone from his predecessor's. It is exactly that of the German Tanhäuser myth and lacks the artificiality of the Guerino. We may assume, therefore, that it is more nearly an exact reproduction of a source. Paris is sure that these two Italians were independent of each other and worked from a common story, 63 > and careful consideration of the accounts makes this seem highly probable, especially in the light of fact that the modified version comes first in point of time. The Salade, furthermore, shows pretty plainly from what quarter it came. The knight was a German, the Sibyl addressed him in his native tongue, and it was a Netherland name which la Sale found scratched upon the wall of the entrance to the mount:

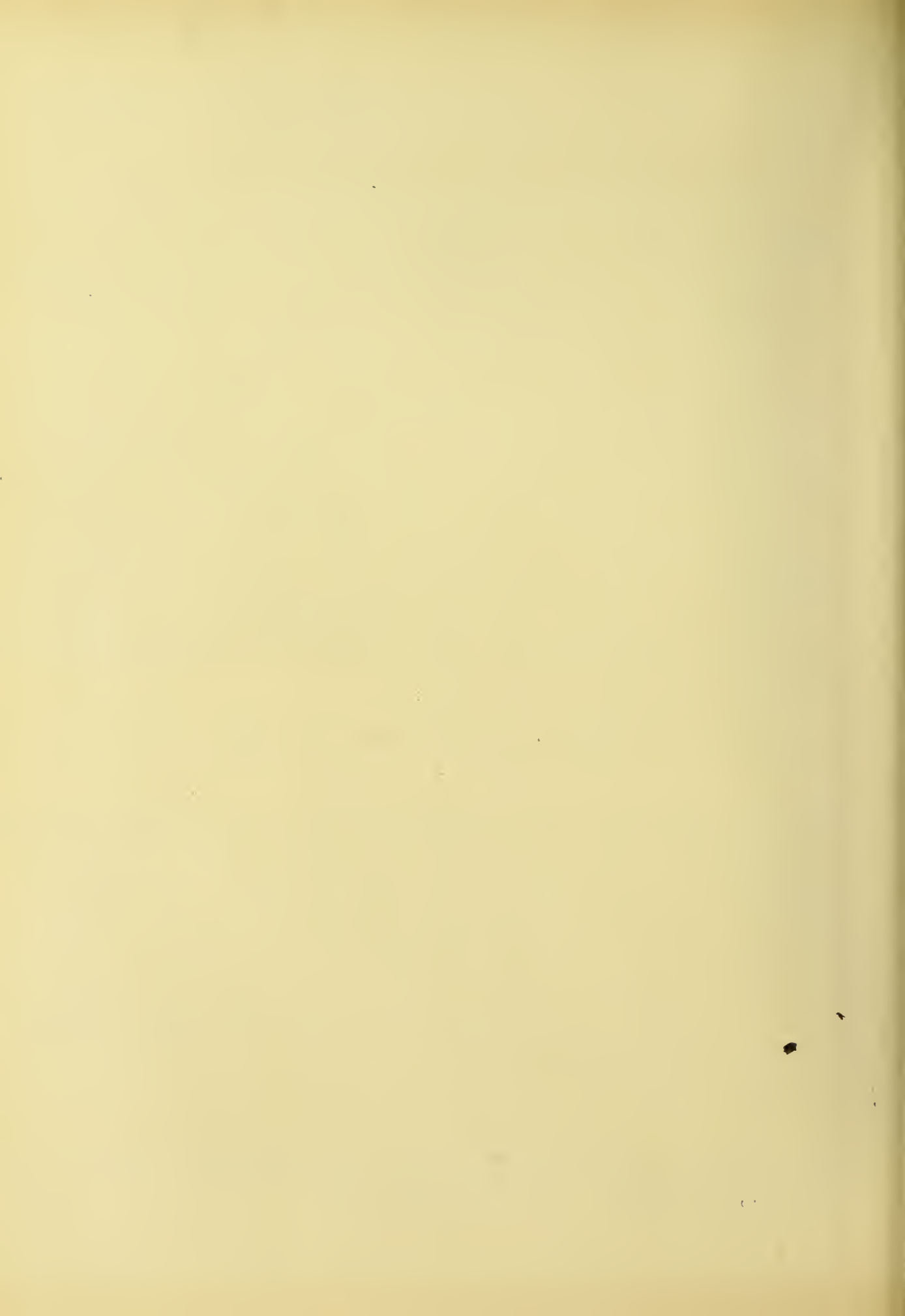
Her Hans Wanbanbourg Borg intravit.

64 >

The way in which the pope is pictured is worthy of remark. The reason assigned for his hesitancy is but the lame excuse of an Italian catholic for an action which in protestant Germany went unexcused. 65 > It is apparent that la Sale's source was German and that it was either already antipapal in tone or that he felt there were suggestions in it which might be so interpreted and took this means of setting the pope in a better light.

62. Paris, op. cit., page 88 63. ibid. pages 87 & 91

64. la Sale, Du mont de la Sibille, after Söderhjelm, op. cit., pages 118 ff., 120, 128. 65. ibid. page 125



La Sale's acquaintance with the German source may date from the year 1408 when he was in Flanders, the home of the song Van heer Danielken.

in 1407 he was at Messina with Duke Louis II.,...The next years he perhaps spent in Brabant, for he was present at two tournaments given at Brussels and Ghent. With other gentlemen from Brabant, whose names he has preserved, he took part in the expedition of 1415 against the Moors, organized by John I. of Portugal. In 1420 he accompanied Louis III. on another expedition to Naples, making in that year an excursion from Morcia to the Monte della Sibilla, and the neighboring Lake of Pilate.

66 >

The German story of Tanhäuser im Venusberg reaches back fully as far as Barbarino. We last see it in 1453 in the fragment which presupposes a knowledge of the whole myth. 67 > I have shown elsewhere that before it was told of Tanhäuser the story was related of Daniel, and even though we assume no earlier connections for that version, it would not be too much to say that the myth goes back half a century farther than this Tanhäuser fragment.

Barbarino is, therefore, surrounded by witnesses testifying to a German origin with not one of his own country to support him as the Italian starting point of the myth. The question remains why this particular Italian mountain should have been picked as the seat of the amorous queen. Two facts must here be born in mind. The queen was not originally Venus; those who later call this mountain Venusberg are all Germans or under German influence and form a relatively small proportion of those who have something to say concerning the Venusberg.

66. Encyclopedia Britannica, article on la Sale cit., page 33 ff.

67. Grasse, op.

The Mountain of Pilate was famous as the high seat of magic, not only in Italy but even more in Germany. Italian references to it are scanty, but many Germans know of it. This is to be accounted for by the unusual interest shown in magic by the Germans in the middle ages and the intimate connection between Italy and Germany during that period. Intercourse was easy and common and this magic mountain was a sort of international affair. Not before Barbarino can we find any trace of the name Sibyl being attached to the place. In his story it is expressly stated that the Sibyl used to live at Cumae but had removed to Norcia. This upon its face sounds like an attempt to reconcile the old with the new. Where did Barbarino get his idea that the Sibyl was an amorous queen as well as a wizard, and that she lived within a hollow-mountain? The German furnishes the material in the mountain described in the Wartburgkrieg. 68> There the Sibyl is queen over a grail paradise within a mountain. From the account we readily infer a popular tradition of such a place and from the descriptions there given together with what we learn elsewhere of the Grail we easily account for the love element. The Wartburgkrieg precedes Barbarino by almost a century and a half. In that time there must have developed from the German tradition therein contained a story of a knight who issued from this place to seek forgiveness only to return unforgiven. In the chapter on Tanhäuser I have shown how the Danielkenlied bears witness to such a story considerably before 1450, and in the chapter on the Schwanritter I have made it evident that this myth is the real background of the Tanhäuser story. Before Venus became known as queen of the place, which

does not seem to have been much before the middle of the 15. century, the Sibyl held the position. Barbarino's is, therefore, simply a learned attempt to localize the mountain of the Sibyl which he found unlocalized in the German account. The Sibyl's home was felt by those versed in classical lore to be in Italy, just as later the same feeling prevailed in scholarly minds in regard to Venus. As in the case of the Venusberg, the number of earlier attempts to localize the Grail mountain of the Sibyl is small and in both cases the attempt is the result of learning. The same learning which selected the Italian mountain near Norcia as the Sibyl's home found it suited to Venus as well when the Sibyl-Grail realm became known as Venusberg. The Sibyl was a much more popular figure in Germany than in Italy, due to her prophetic character which appealed directly to the German love of magic. The name is of frequent occurrence, and the body of Sibyllenweissagung attests the same interest. 69 > In fact the localization, as well as the general story, Barbarino probably found already accomplished when he took up the myth, for two ideas such as the Sibyl and the mountain of Pilate, both connected with magic, were easy to associate. The Sibyl, too, was already connected with a magic mountain in popular tradition, as the Wartburgkrieg shows. Barbarino's explanation of the Sibyl's change of residence is but an attempt to reconcile the usual classical conception as to the Sibyl's home with this odd change which he found. The splendid paradise within the mountain is not an Italian addition, for that cannot be

69. cf. Vogt, Bremer Beiträge, 4, 48 ff., Sibyl, 1311-1312 des Mittelalters, page 305 ff.; Simrock, Die deutschen Volksbücher, vol. 13, pages 446 - 506; Heinric, Margriete van Limborch, Book V, line 1834, Book VI; Petit, Bibl. der Middelnederl. Taal- en Letterkunde, page 56, number 442

explained from the alleged cavern of the Cumaean Sibyl, and the Pilatusberg had its shrine and lake on, not in the mountain. The hollow-mountain paradise idea is as peculiar to Germany as it is foreign to Italy. The localization of the old Sibyl-Grail mountain of the Wartburgkrieg was not confined to the Pilatusberg. The mountain of the Gral which Niem describes is some three miles from Cumae, which means, of course, that the Germans who imagined it there were seeking to put it near the real home of the Sibyl. 70 > This is further proof that a popular tradition of the Sibyl's paradise existed in Germany as early as the time of Barbarino. Niem wrote in 1410. Barbarino has his story from the German and the Venusberg is of German origin. 71 >

The frequent statement is made by early champions of the Italian theory that the natives of the locality near the mountain in the Apennines tell these stories of how German heroes have entered there. So Harff 1497, Silvius 1450, Birken 1669, and la Sale 1440. This is easily accounted for as the attempt by such as knew the story from German sources to transplant it to Italian soil, securing a greater air of probability by such a touch of local color. As a matter of fact, the Italians themselves never seemed fully to understand or assimilate the myth of this love mountain in their midst. Silvius, himself an Italian, has so poor a memory that he has forgotten all that was told him about the place until he has taken up his residence in Germany 72 > and there had his attention again called to the matter. The castellan in Harff's account 1497 laughs at the German who asks

70. Dietrich a Niem, De Schismate, lib. II, cap. 20 < after Schilter, Thesaurus Antiquitatum, Vol. III under Gral, also cited by Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch, under gral: for passage see succeeding chapter of this study 71. Paris speaks of Barbarino's great penchant for literary borrowing, op. cit., page 88 72. cf. above Die Zimmerische Chronik 1565

to be shown the Venusberg, as though he regarded the belief as a silly one, which Germans of that day did not. Furthermore, he shows Harff no hollow mountain, but merely gales or grottoes in the mountainside. A similar failure to grasp the very genius of the story, the paradise on the interior of a mountain, is found in Birken's Brandenburgischer Ulysses 1609 where, under influence of the classic tradition concerning the Sibyl, he calls this Apennine Venus mount 'another such cave of the Sibyl'. So too the classicist Frölich 1644 speaks of the 'great and dreadful cave of the Sibyl or the mount of Venus' in Anconia. The hollow-mountain idea is not suggested by this mountain of magic in the Apennines owing to the perfectly ascertainable fact that the mountain is not hollow in the sense in which the Venusberg was so imagined. This localization was not much adhered to by Germans and would never have been made were it not for the suggested connection between the well-known magical characteristics of the Sibyl's mount of the Wartburgkrieg and the Pilatusberg. When the Grail mountain of the Sibyl came to be called the Venusberg this Italian localization was also transferred, and with the increasing interest of 16. century Germany in magic became more and more popular.

GRAIL.

The Grail enters the literature of Germany with Wolfram von Eschenbach. Besides the Parzival of Wolfram there are three other pretentious literary works in German dealing with the Grail. Türlin's Krone, Albrecht's Jüngere Titurel, and the Lohengrin of unknown authorship, all of the thirteenth century. 1 > Aside from these longer poems there exist numerous references to the Grail extending as far as the 17. century. The course of this idea in Germany was peculiar and less determined by its earlier history in the French and English, than by certain mythical traditions of Wanschdinge and an earthly paradise already current among Germanic peoples; with these the Grail in Germany was from the start associated. Wolfram himself was responsible for giving the idea of such a connection its initial impulse and we may indeed say that the bizarre history of the Grail in Germany is the direct result of the cast of the great poet's own thought regarding it.

Wolfram's Grail is a Wanschding, supplying its court with everything needed in greatest abundance and splendor; it is the centre of an extra-ecclesiastical worship, neither monastic nor ascetical, is guarded within a castle which now is seen, now is gone. 2 >

Parzival der huop sich den,
er begurde wackerlichen draben
den rechten pfat unz an den graben.
da was diu brücke uf gezogen,

1. Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival, ed. Martin; Heinrich von dem Türlin, Diu Crône, Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 27; Albrecht von Scharfenberg, Der Jüngere Titurel, ed. Hahn, Bibl. der gesamt. d. Nat.-Lit., vol. 24; Lohengrin, ed. Ruckert, *ibid.*, vol. 36. 2. For an excellent discussion see Golther, Die Gralsage bei Wolfram.

den burc an veste licht betrouen.
 si stuont velt als si waere gedraet...
 vil turne, wanc palas
 dâ stuont mit wonderlîche ver...
 ir luter na, daz guot ich klage.
 junc nac den grâl nîch an bejag,
 wan der ~~z~~ himel ist sô bekant
 daz er zer grâle sî benant. 37

The poet either unconsciously or wilfully fails to understand his French source. Chrestien of Troves represents the Grail as a jewel-encrusted golden cup emitting an intense light and passing through the hall before each course of the meal. From the holy wafer therein contained the king of the castle lives, but he alone. Nothing is said of the Grail's supplying the plenty which here prevails. The cup is merely a mysterious object of holy veneration. Wolfram, however, describes the Grail as a stone which, under the direct favor of heaven, supplies the needs of the castle. It is preeminently a Wunderding.

ze Munsalvaesche wîne grâl...
 Dâ wont ein werlîchiu schar...
 si lebent von einen steine...
 er heizet lapsit exillîs...
 ûf einen grünen achmardî
 truoc si den wunsch von pardîs,
 bode warzeln unde rîs.
 daz was ein dinc, das hiez der Grâl,
 erden wunscher überwal...
 spîse niuwe und dar zuo alt,
 daz zam und daz wilde...
 wan der grâl was der saelden frucht,
 der werlde sîeze ein sôlh genuht,
 er wac vil rîch gelîche
 als man saget von himelrîche...
 die werde geselleschaft
 bete wirtschafft vone grâl...
 Ez ist hiute der karfrîtac,
 daz man fûr war dâ warten mac,
 ein tûb von himel swinget:
 ûf den stein diu bringet
 ein kleine wîze oblât.
 ûf dem steine si die lât:
 diu tûbe ist durchliuhtec blanc,
 ze himel tuot\$si widerwanc.
 inner alle karfrîtage

bringet se ûf den, als i'û sage,
 dâ von der stein enpfachet
 swaz guots ûf erden draehet
 von trinken unt von spîse,
 als der wunsch von pardîse:
 ich mein swaz d'erde mac rebern.
 der stein si iurlaz sêr sol vern.
 swaz wildes under lûfte lebt,
 ez iliege od loufe, unt dan svent.
 der ritterlichen broderschaft,
 die iruende in gît des grâles kraft.

When Parzival enters the castle he finds no evidences of clergy or ecclesiastical observance. A queen and beautiful maidens tend the Grail, a sorceress is its messenger, and chastity is the one condition of its service. 6 > The visit to Trevrizent shows similar features.

doch ich ein leie waere,
 der wâren buoche naere
 und ich lesen unde schriben,
 wie der mensche sol beliben.

7 >

Martin remarks that Wolfram's exaltation of the Grail worship as directly connected with Heaven, independent of church mediation, is doubtless naive and without implied protestant intention. 8 > It is a most attractive picture, this splendid Grail realm where chastity and truth prevail and upon which God Himself is pleased to bestow direct signs of His favor. We must not let the glory of Wolfram's poetic imagery blind us, however, to the fact that he has albeit laid himself open to the suspicion of the church and to its sharp criticism - which so far as we have record was not openly expressed, but to judge from the silence of the clergy concerning this relic at the time and the lack of protection given it in its later course must have existed - and to its complete refusal to give its sanction

5. Parz., 468, 469, 470, 235, 238, 239 6. ibid., 232 ff., 438 - 9,
 473 7. ibid., 462, 11 - 13 8. Martin, op. cit., 2, page XXXIII

in thus seeking to immortalize a worship of the Holy Grail, - this earthly paradise which comes as a reward for a life simply, honestly and naturally lived and is absolutely independent of any human mediation of church or clergy, which stands indeed in direct relationship to the Deity. Indeed from the general absence of those references to things ecclesiastical which form so large a part of the poetry of Wolfram's day one is almost led to doubt whether his protestantism is altogether naive and whether in fact the unpopularity of Parzival among Wolfram's contemporaries, of which he himself complains, is not due to this very thing. That is a very important consideration for our future study of the Grail in Germany. 8 > If its initial appearance was such as to inspire suspicion and enmity on the part of the church, what may we not expect for its further history? Ten Brink, speaking of the reasons for the church's silence concerning this most holy relic, says:

Den Ganzen scheint die Idee einer mystischen Kirche neben der sichtbaren und officiellen zu Grunde zu liegen, einer Kirche, die dann freilich ihre eigenen Apostel und Diener hat. In wiefern dogmatische Ansichten gewisser Secten jener Zeit Hineinspielen, wäre interessant zu untersuchen... In England wo sich unter Heinrich II. die Tendenzen nach kirchlicher Selbstständigkeit erneuerten, fand diese Legende einen fruchtbaren Boden. Man benutzte sie dazu, der englischen Kirche einen von Rom unabhängigen Ursprung zu geben.

9 >

And the article on Grail in the Catholic Encyclopedia, which may be taken doubtless to reflect with reasonable accuracy the spirit of the Church of Rome, since it bears the imprimatur, tells us that the

8. Martin, op. cit., 2, pages XI, XII
Literatur, page 216

9. R. ten Brink, Englische

church's attitude was unfavorable, assigning as reasons the facts that the legend after all had its roots in secular and not in ecclesiastical soil and tended to exalt a worship unknown to the church of Rome. 10>

The entire lack of ascetism in the Grail worship as pictured by Wolfram and his successors was probably another object of disapproval on the part of the church. This castle is no cloister but a splendid home furnished with the good things of life in profusion. Beautiful women serve the Grail. The king marries, those chosen to its service come as children and enjoy indefinitely, presumably forever, the joys of the place, for the sight of the Grail wards off death. 11>

ouch wart nie menschen sô wê,
swelhes tages ez den stein gesiht,
die wochen mac ez sterben niht,...
der stein ist ouch genant der grâi.

12>

The mysterious character of the realm, its unknown locality, the difficulty of finding it, and the disappearance of its inhabitants, - these are all ghostly otherworld traits which the church was in any case prone to regard evilly because of their suggested association with the heathen paradise rather than with Christian conceptions of the life beyond. 13>

Wolfram's use of the Grail is superior to that of his predecessors or of those who imitated him; it is the symbol of an ideal and independent church where man in pure and all is joy, but the change in the nature of the Grail itself is an independent matter and is due to

10. -

11. Parz., 232 ff.; 495; 471; 469, 14 - 16, 28 12. ibid., 469, 14 - 16, 28

13. ibid., 225 ff., 245 ff., 468.

the poet's misconception of Chrestien's meaning. Wolfram has understood the Frenchman to mean that the Grail itself is the source of supply within the castle. In a word, his acquaintance with the Germanic notion of Wunsching led him to a conclusion which was wrong. Nor can the legend of Joseph's support in prison have influenced Wolfram here, for had such been the case he would have retained the idea of the cup of our Lord. Wolfram has, by changing the Grail from the cup to a stone, robbed the legend of its last suggestion of churchly holiness and the idea of sacredness which he retains from his predecessor becomes a purely extraneous feature.

Heinrich von der Turlin and Albrecht von Scharienberg as well as the Lohengrin follow closely in Wolfram's steps in representing the Grail, not as a relic but as a stone unconnected with the cup of the Last Supper.

Turlin's Krone however expresses more plainly the idea that the Grail is the other-world. The Wirt in explaining the Grail to the questioning Gawein says:

ich bin tot, swie ich niht tot schin,
 Unde daz gesinde min
 Daz ist ouch tot mit mir;
 Swie daz si, so haben wir
 Doch kein witze über al,
 Und haben aller dinge wal,
 Diu nach vröuden ziehent
 Und jamers not vliehent.
 Wan dise vrouwen sint niht tot,
 Sie hant ouch kein ander not,
 Wan daz sie sint, da ich bin...
 Dar zuo bewisete er ouch in,
 Daz ez morgen waere ein jar,
 Daz er waere komen dar...
 Nach diser rede sa ze hant
 Dirre altherre so verswant
 Vor sinen ougen und dem gral
 Und mit im zuo dem selben mal
 Ditze gesinde über al,

Daz vor ime was uf dem sal,
 Wan diu vrouwe und ir meide...
 Die gotinne wol getan
 Und die vünf juncfrouwen,
 Do er da siene beschouwen
 Daz hus und den palas,
 Daz allez so kostlich was,
 In einem sale richen
 Und gar wunneclichen
 Und ander vrouwen mit ir:
 Do wart volendet sin ir,
 So seit diu Aventure ir.

Sie enpfienec in hart wol,
 Also man vrienden tuon sol,
 Als sie ouch haben getan
 Sie erwolt in des niht getan
 Sie erwolt in des niht erlan:
 Er muost den tac beliben
 Bi ir unde vertriben
 Mit vrage und mit sage.
 Sie seite in an dem tage,
 Daz daz lant ir waere
 Und diu burc erbaere,
 Und daz nergent anderswa
 In deheinem lande, niuwen da,
 Der gral gesehen würde,
 Und müeste sie die burde
 Von gote unz dar tragen.

14 >

The Lohengrin pictures Arthur and his knights in a mountain of the Grail where both the living and departed are to be found, just as in the Krone. 15 > Aside from this we read in one line that the occupants of this mountain

si lebent noch in vreche

16 >

The purport of these stanzas from the Warburgkrieg 17 > is that the Grail is a Wunschding supplying the whole massenie with good things.

14. Turlin, Krone, line 29532 ff. 15. Warburgkrieg, ed. Simrock, stanzas 83 - 87; Lohengrin, ed. Rückert, lines 231 - 266
 16. Warburgkrieg, stanza 83 17. ibid., stanzas 83 - 87

The Jüngere Titurel contains lines of the same import:

Swes man ie der zv bedvrien solde.
Daz vant man hi dem grale...
Und irdische paradyse heten si von dem grale.

18 >

The whole poem with its long account of the history of the Grail never changes the original conception laid down by Wolfram that the Grail is the source of the supply in the Grallburg, which is to say, it is a Wunschding.

In von der Hagen's Minnesinger we find a number of references to the Grail:

din verch in tugenden graler.

Wa kam hin Parcivale,
ris' Sigenot unt der wild' man?
sie kerte <n> ze dem Grale,
der tot hat si erslîchen.

Man sagt von Parcivale
von Titurel und Gamuret, von Exhart und Achille,
von Gawein, der das best' ie tet,
von Waliban und Lanzilot,
Elianes krieg unt von Wilbalmes tat.
Die worhten heldes male:
do schuof der vürsten miltiu hant,
ir tugent und ir guete, ir staeter muot was wol bekant,
daß er mit tusent waer' ir bot'
Gen mannes muot, nach siner sinnen rat.
Wie hoch ir muot do swebte,
unt waer' noch Artus solicher tugent, als er do miltē
lebte
mit siner tavel runde
man vunde noch wol Parcival und alle herren in dem Gral
wen nach in durft' und in der eren gunde.

19 >

The Magdeburg Chronik says that in the year 1280 there was held at Magdeburg a festival called the Gral:

18. Scharfenberg, op. cit., 350, 79 19. Friedrich von der Hagen, Minnesinger, vol. 1, page 52; vol. 3, page 376; vol. 3, page 150

In dussen tiden weren hir die kunstabelen, dat weren der rikesten borger kinder; de plegen dat spel vor to tadelrunde und ander spel, dat in de ruten sulven vorstan. In den vorgeschreven stride was ein kunstabel, der heit Brun van Sconenhe. dat was ein gelart man. den deden sine geselle, de kunstabelen, dat he on dichte und bedechte ein vrei^{ch}id^{el} spel. des makede he ein gral und dichte lovesche breve. de sande he to Goslar, to Kildeslein und to Brunswik, Quedlingeborch, Halkerslad und to anderen steden, und ladeⁿen to sik alle koplode, die dar ridderschap wolden over, dat se to on quemen to Magdeorc, se dedden eire schone vruwen, de heit vrow Feie; de scholde men geven den, der se vorwerven k^unde mit tuchten und manheit. dar v^un worden bewegen alle jungelinge in den steden. de van Goslar kemen mit vordeckeden rossen, de van Brunswik kemen alle mit gronen v^urdecket und gevarwe. Do se vor disse stad quemen, se wolden nicht inriden, men entp^reng se mit suste und austiren. dat geschach. twe kunstabele togen ut und bestanden de und ert^riffen se mit den speren. de wile was de grale bereit up den mersche und vele telt und pawelune up geslagen, und dar was ein lon gess^t up de mersche, dar hangeden der kunstabelen schilde an, de in den grale weren. des anderen dages, do de gesten wissen hadden gehort und gegeben, se toten vor den gral und beschauweden den. dar wart on verlov^et, dat h^ulk rorde einen schilt: welches jungelinges de schilt were, de queme her vor und bestunde den rorer. dat geschach in allen. To lesten vordeinde vrowen Feien ein olt kopman van Goslere; de vorde se mit sik und gaf se to der e und gaf or so vele mede, dat se ores wilden levendes nicht mer ovede. Hir van ist ein ganz dudesch bok genaket. de sulve Brun Sconenheke makede sedder vele dudeschenboke, als Cantica Carticoru, dat Ave Maria und vele gudes gedichtes.

20 >

Tilos von Kuln in his Siben Ingesigeln of 1331 uses the word thus:

Die siⁿ durch minⁿ hercozen gral
So bitterlichen schizen
Und lan sichs nicht verarizen.

21 >

Gert van der Schuren says about 1478 that the knight Elyas

kam aus dem irdischen paradies, das einige den Grail nennen.

22 >

At about the same time the Saxon Chronicle says

düsse Jungling Helias sy gekomen uthe den Berge, dar

Venus in den Grale iss.

23 >

To which the editor appends the note on Gral

Gral war eine Art eines Spiel-Festes, worauf es sich lustig und liederlich herzugeben pflegte.

24 >

Blöte points out that van der Schuren claims as his authority the earlier historian Helinand, but says that inasmuch as the books of Helinand in which this passage is said to have occurred are lost we cannot be sure and assumes from another reference to the same passage made by a later writer that van der Schuren has invented the statement. The passage may very probably have been in Helinandus, however, in light of the line in the Jüngere Titarel

irdisch paradyse heten sie von dem grale

25 >

and the specific statement of Wolfram that Lohengrin, the Swan Knight, was sent out from the Grail. This means that the idea of the Grail as an earthly paradise was freely expressed at a very early date.

In Die Wolfenbüttler Handschrift we read:

er sol Got dancken zum andern mal
aus seines herczen ynderst gral

26 >

Oswald von Wolkenstein, one of the last of the Minnesingers, introduces a somewhat new tone:

ich hoff, du last mich nicht allain,
seit du nu rist mein höchster gral,
der alles laid verdecket.

27 >

The Meisterlieder of Hans Folz refer a number of times to Grail:

Weib aller güt ein uber port,

23. Abel, op. cit., <1732> page 56 24. ibid. 25. op. cit., stanza 79 26. D. texte des Mittelalt., vol. 14, p. 148; p. 177-5, 6. 773.6 27. Oswald von Wolkenstein, ed. Schatz, No. 11, 30-32

Des grales abentheure,
Darin man schäuet und erkennet wurde;

Die veter in der vorhell all
Berauet varn des lichten glastez grall.

Was dar auch sagt von gralias,
Vur alles das
Loß ich die reinen frauen. 28 >

In the Mastersongs of the Kölner manuscript, Orplume and other fair women

bi den Grals saz. 29 >

And again in the same

bistuz her Gāwā, so bin ichz her Parçīāl.
lā sehen wer under uns ersinze hie den Grāl.
30 >

Pignius in 1609, echoing those earlier statements already referred to 31 > writes:

Annales quosdam veteres volunt prodidisse Helium istum
e paradisi terrestres loco quodam fortunatissimo, cui
Graele nomen esset, navigio tali venisse.
32 >

Schiller and Lubben's Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch cites a number of references to the Grail from low German sources.

here, gyf in dynene sale Rauwe den selen Anne glast
In des paradyses grale.

God helpe, dat ik mote komen an iuwen dans, dar juw
vore hoveret alto male Maria in der hemmelgrale.. help-
et gy, dat ik nummer gescheidet werde van juwene grale.

din bedde stunt to prale
Mit kussene unde mit sindale,
Du lēgen twe strowische to male
Under dinen hove de to grale

grāl und vroude hōf sik dar

ock so was to pinxten de gral to Bronswick

28. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, vol. 12, 88, lines 13-15 30, line 109
110; 88, line 58- 29. Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 68, no. 49, 121 30.
ibid., no. 61, 11. 56-57 31. see note 22 32. Hercules prodicius, pages
52 ff. <after Reiffenberg: Du Chevalier au Cygne, page 224 >

In des sulven koninges sale wude des grail in scone
grale... an der sulven schuren sal slocen se op einen
grâl van ongerleide welvar. Das De konink sach van
sinere sâl, end soredede wol de grote grâl.

Latet ore leven. De reyen de godden alomale
Mit einem vrolickan grale

crozlen unde nachtegal
Mit sange stechten maniges gral 33 >

Johann Frisch in his Deutsch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch has it:

Grail T III. Script. Brunsvic. p. 140 and 418. I. 1.
II. Gralli ad. XIV. 91. S. Schilt. Gloss. Teut. ad
voc. Grail. Da Grail erklärt wird durch tripudiare et de
deliciis deditur esse.

Mathesius in Sarepta heisst des reichen Mannes
Leben ein pancketiren und krallesiren.

From these references we must conclude that the Grail stands in
general for paradise, both in a spiritual and a sensuous sense.
The references which follow next in order reveal even more strikingly
the growing popularity of the latter conception in connection with
the word. Dietrich a Nien writes in 1410

ad quattuor miliaria cernitur mons sanctus Barbarae
in plano campo eminens et rotundus quem delasi multi
Alexani in vulgari appellant der Gral, asserentes pro-
ut etiam in illis regionibus plerique autumnant, quod
in illo multi sunt homines vivi et victuri usque ad
diem iudicii, qui tripudiis et deliciis sunt dediti et
ludibriis diabolicis perpetuo irretiti.

34 >

Diefenbach in his Glossarium cites from an older Lexicon of 1425 or
even earlier where the word Gralus is thus defined:

ys ein ghelogen dynck dat eyn koning sy dar de lude
leven in vrolicheyt wente an de jungsten dach.

35 >

Manus. Mscr. I, 84 S. 411

33. Lüb. Gebetb. II. f. F. 2; Bren. Kerck. geb. 72b; Hanov. Mscr. I. 84.
S. 411; Aesop. S. 40; Bothos. Chr. 261; R.V. 3306; Anselm v. 628;
Aesop. 8, 20 <all after Schiller u. Lübben> 34. De Schismate,
lib. II, cap. 20 <after Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch,
under grâl; also Schilter, Thesaurus Antiquitatum, III, under Gral,
where Lexer doubtless found it. 35. see also 22b of sources cited.

Johann Fischart in his *Gargantua* of 1594 says in speaking of a trip to Italy:

wir wollen den Grail oder Venusberg besuchen. 36 >

And it was about 1490 that the Saxons Chronicle reported

die Historien so sich zu den ausser jüdischen Heiden by
gekomen also den Berge wo Venus in dem Grail ist 37 >

The Dutch historian John Veldenaer about 1480 wrote:

Einige Chroniken sagen, der Schwärzritter sei aus dem
Grail <dat greal> gekommen, wie früher das Paradies auf
Erden geheissen habe. 38 >

The course which the Grail has gone is very evident and its final fate quite as plain. From an earthly paradise in a better sense of that word it has ended in that most sensual of paradisaical concepts the Venusberg. The process was made more easy from the fact that what Wolfram and his immediate imitators represented as a holy paradise was in reality based upon what by inheritance they knew of the Germanic idea of an earthly paradise; this had an immediate popular appeal, but because of the independent worship which it idealized and its suspected heathen connections rendered the idea unpopular with the church. Churchly opposition and sensual popularity, two such influences as these working at the same time contrived to send the Grail very rapidly in a downward direction until it came to mean the mountain of Venus. The two names for the same old Germanic paradisaical idea were at last confused for a time until the newer Venusberg gradually entirely replaced the older designation of Grail.

36. Fischart, *Gargantua*, ed. 1594, bl. 221b 37. op. cit. page 56
38. Veldenaer, *Fasciculus temporum*, <after Reiffenberg, op. cit. 213 and Hertz, ed. *Parzival*, page 465

ARTHUR.

One of the most important lines connecting Grail and Yggisberg is to be found in the history of the Arthurian legend in Germany. The 13. century contains material which gives unmistakable evidence that there existed at that time and probably had existed long previous a story of Arthur and his knights within a paradisaical mountain. Evidence is not wanting, too, that this paradise was looked upon by the church as an evil place and Arthur considerably discredited because of his connection therewith. About 1220 Gervasius of Tilbury gave in his Otia Imperialia a peculiar account of how this famous British hero together with his Grail court was reputed to be on a fertile plain situate upon the slopes of Aetna in Sicily.

In Sicilia est mons Aetna...Hunc autem montem vulgares Mongibel appellant. In hujus deserto nascunt indigenae Arturus magnus nostris temporibus apparuisse. Cum enim uno aliquo die custos palafredi episcopi Catanensis commissum sibi equum depulveraret, subito impetu lascivae pinguedinis equus exiliens ac in propriam se recipiens liberatus, fugit. Ab insequente ministro per montis ardua praecipitiaque quaesitis nec inventis, timore pedissequo succrescente, circa montis opaca perquiritur. Quid plura? arctissima segita seu plana est inventa; puer in spatiosissimam planitiem jactu datus omnibusque deliciis plenam venit, ilique in palatio viro opere constructo reperit Arturum in strato regii apparatus recubantem. Cumque ab advena et peregrino causam sui adventus percontaretur, agnita causa itineris, statim palafredum episcopi iacit adduci, ipsumque praesuli reddendum ministro commendat, adjiciens, se illic antiquitus in bello, cum Moaredo, nepote suo, et Childerico, duce Saxorum, puerum commissum, vulneribus quotannis recrudescens, paucius diu mansisse. Quodcumque, ut ab indi eris accepi, eximia sua ad antistitem illum destinavit, quae a multis visa et a pluribus fabulosa novitate admirata fuerant. Sed et in sylvis Britanniae majoris aut minoris consilia con-

figurae referuntur, narrantibus quibusdam contentis,
quos forestarios, quasi indagatos de vivariis levi-
gorum aut regum herorum custodes, vulgo nominat,
se alteris diebus circa hora meridiana et in pro-
moctium conticinio, sub placido luce luccante,
suppissime videre militum copias venantium et canum
et cornuum strepitum, qui sciscitabantur se de socie-
tate et familia Arturi esse affirmant.

1 >

We cannot overlook obvious similarities between this account
and Grail Mountain descriptions. The wounded king reclining upon a
couch, the magic and sumptuousness of the court and the devilish na-
ture of Arthur shown in his seership and captaincy of the furious
host,- all these indicate the things of which I have just spoken,- the
mountain alone and its king's growingly evil reputation. Arthur says
furthermore that the wounds from which he is suffering are those re-
ceived in that last great battle after which, according to the usual
account, he was carried to Avalon to be healed.

And I myself will go to Avalon, to the most beauteous
of women, to the queen Argante, an elf wondrous fair;
and she will heal me of my wounds and make me quite
well with a healing drink. Afterwards I will come a-
gain to my kingdom, and dwell among the Britons in
Great Bliss.

uz Avelun, der feinen lant, von einer Gotinne durch
liebe und durch kinne.

2 >

Is this mountain Avalon? It would seem the land of fairy had for
some reason been here removed from an island in the sea to a mountain.
Arthur's mountain home is, however, here not in but on Actna. More
lies back of Tillbury's description. Why, in the first place, has he
associated the court with a mountain at all? Not to secure a sure

1. ed. Liebrecht, pages 12, 13 2. Maynadier, The Arthur of the
English Poets, page ;Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan, id. Mass-
mann, 397, 7 ff.

fortification for a Grail castle. No castle is here mentioned. And why too with this particular mountain in far-away Sicily? The contemporary German account of Caesarius von Heisterbach sheds so much light upon the one we have been considering that I venture here to quote the twelfth chapter of his Dialogus Miraculorum, Book XII, entire.

Bo tempore quo Henricus Imperator subiunxit sibi Siciliam, in Ecclesia Palermsi quidam erat Decanus, natione ut puto **Theutonicus**. Hic cum die quadam suum qui optimus erat perdidisset palefredum, servum suum ad diversa loca misit ad investigandum illum. Cui homo senex occurrens, ait: Quo vadis, aut quid quaeris? Dicente illo, equum domini mei quaero; subiunxit homo: Ego novi ubi sit. Et ubi est? inquit. Respondit: **In monte Gyber**; ibi eum habet dominus meus **Rex Arcturus**. Idem mons flammis evomit sicut Vulcanus. Strepente servo ad verba illius, subiunxit: Dic domino tuo ut ad dies quatuordecim illuc veniat ad curiam eius **Stollenen**. Quod si ei dicere oviseris, graviter punieris. Reversus servus, quae audivit domino suo exposuit, cum timore tamen. Decanus ad curiam Arcturi se invitator audiens et irridens, infirmatus die praefixo mortuus est. Haec Godescalcus canonicus Bonniensis nobis retulit, dicens se eodem tempore ibidem fuisse.

3 >

From this it is plain enough what Tilbury has done. Both he and Heisterbach knew of a tradition according to which Arthur was in a mountain. The Englishman interpreted it in his own way, and, not being accustomed by hereditary tradition to assigning such large and sumptuous scenes to the interior of hollow mountains, he described the court as on the mountain slope. The German, on the other hand, kept what he found and relates that Arthur is in Monte Gyber <where the Latin in means in, as the entire context before and after this chapter shows >.

That such a tradition as I have referred to first when those men could have worked did exist is shown by the Warbur Grief of about 1250 and by the legend told by Wolfram when he relates how Lohengrin, the son of Parzival, chief member of Arthur's Round Table, comes from the Grail. The general tradition of Arthur within a mountain or paradise seems, therefore, to have been current in Germany in the 13. century. The choice of Aetna as a localization is clearly explained by Heisterbach's account. What he is here discussing is a mountain which was commonly considered during the late Middle Ages as the entrance to hell. Liebrecht cites a prayer from the French which shows this belief quite as plainly as do Heisterbach's chapters in his twelfth book 4 >

Je te saluë mille fois ô étoile plus resplendissante
que la Lune. Je te conjure d'aller trouver Beelzebuth
... et lui dire qu'il m'envoie trois esprits, Alpha, Rello
Jalderichel, et le Bossu du Mont Gilel...

5 >

The inevitable conclusion is that Arthur and the Grail paradise were not at all popular with the church. A passage from the Vita Paterni reveals very plainly the church attitude:

Cum autem Paternus in ecclesia Mauritania praefata
post tantos labores quiesceret, deambulabat quidam
tyrannus regiones altrinsecus, nomine Arthurus: Qui
quadam die veniens ad cellam sancti episcopi et ipsum
alloquens, tunica marmoratam aspexit et zelo confossus
invidiae petivit eam. Cui Sanctus: Non cuilibet magno
sed clerico tantum Deo sacro haec tunica condigna
est. Ille autem indignans monasterium egressus iter-
unque regressus est, ut eam vi tolleretur. Unus autem
discipulorum videns illum in furore revertentem cu-
currit ad S. Paternum et ait: Tyrannus, qui hinc antea

4. *ibid.* Book XII, chapters VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIII
ed. Liebrecht, page 220

5. Tilbury,

exiuit, insultando cum furore regressus. Paternus
ait: Ite absorbeat eum tellus! Qui dicto statim
terra aperuit os suum et usque ad montem Arilunum ab-
sorbu it. Qui illico agnoscens ueniam humiliter peti-
ens, terra illum sursum emitteret.

A similar conception of Arthur as a good personage is to be found
in Richard Johnson's History of Tom a Lincoln, the Red Rose Knight,
where he is the seducer of the fair Angelica. 7>

Tilbury's story, in the light of Heisterbach's, is merely a
changed form. There could be no reason for connecting Arthur with a
mountain in general, nor yet with one which served as the ante-chamber
to the lower regions except there lay in the background the conception
of a hollow-mountain abode.

Towards the close of the century further statements are not of
infrequent occurrence tending to show the evil light in which Arthur
and Grail were regarded at this time. Under the date 1281 the Magde-
burg Chronik relates how a Gralfest was held in that year, mentioning
in connection with this lewd and merry game two or three others,
among them the tabelrunde. 8> Arthur's Round Table seems to have
been generally in ill repute. Says Tanhäuser in his third song:

Da diu tavelrunde was,
da wir do schone waren,
daz was loup, dar under gras;
si kunde wol gebaren;
da was niht massenê ne,
wan wir zwei dort in einen kle:
si leiste, daz si <da> solde,
unt tet, daz ich da wolde.

6. after Kaufmann, Caesarius von Heisterbach, page 146 7. ed. Thoms,
Early English Prose Romances, vol. II, 233 - 241 8. Chroniken der
deutschen Städte, VII, 168 9. Friedrich von der Hagen, Minne-
singer, vol. 2, pages 84, 85

Nor will it suffice to argue against this viewpoint that these are but the caprices of a poet. Turpin's Krone gives a picture of Arthur's Table Round in which practically every member save Arthur himself is openly convicted of immorality.

The practical importance of these facts as to Arthur's reputation during the 13. century is in their bearing upon the greatest account of that day, that of the Wartburgkrieg.

Ein küninc was in Antulis,
kanstu mir des gaten vinden, Meister wîs,
der sîne gâbe ot in selîche schicke?

Sînen vürsten gab er wê;
selbe muoste er einen visch in sîne sê
erwerben: den gevienc er doch mit schrîcke.

Dô het er einen arbetmar, der küninc, in hôhen prîse,
den visch nam er iâ mit Gewalt:
ob du vür alle meister pfaffier sîs gezalt,
Kli sôr, sô soltu nîchs ze verte wîse.

83.

Feliciâ, Sîbillen kint,
und Jûnô, die mit Artûs in den berge sint,
die habent vleisch sam wir und ouch gebeine.

Die vrâgt ich wie der küninc lebe,
Artûs, und ver der wassenie spîse gebe,
wer ir dâ pflege mit den tranke reine,

Harnasch, kleider unde ros? si lebent noch in vrecne.
diu gotin bringe her vür dich,
daz si dich berihte sam si tete mich,
daz dir iht hôher meister kunst gebreche.

84.

Feliciâ ist noch ein maget,
bî derselben wurde hât si mir gesaget,
dazs einen abbet in den berge saehe,

Des namen hât si mir genant;
taete ich iu sâ, er vaere iu allen wol bekant:
der schreip mit sîner hant vil var die spæche

Wie Artûs in dem berge lebe und sine selbe sage,
 der si ir hundert nâc gerant,
 die er si in vorre von Brîdeler lant,
 die si ir degetner villen sagebaere.

85.

Artûs lât Kempfer ûz gesant,
 si er von dîser welle schîdt, in Krieten lant.
 Hôrt, wie die selbe botschaft eine glocke

Vol über tûsent riste warp,
 dâ von ein hôrder si e si in kampfe starp.
 Hôrt, ob sîn übermôt zu valsche in locke.

Hôrt, wie ez umbe die glocke stât: Artûses Klingesaere,
 die muosten lân ir künste schal,
 diu selbe glocke in allen durch wîren hal.
 des wart diu passenie an freuden laere.

86.

Sibillen kint Feliciâ
 mit Jûnô, die si ir leide mit Artûse dâ:
 daz lât wir Sante Brandan vol bediutet.

Der Klingôr tuot uns niht bekant
 wer si der kempfe, der Artûs hete ûz gesant,
 ein saget ouch niender wer die glocken liuset.

87.

Der Durengen fürste sunder haz
 sprach: wilt uns diu wære künden füretaz?
 wir müezen nâch den frowen allen senden.

Kerst uns mit singen tuon bekant,
 Wie Loherangrîn von Artûs wart ûz gesant,
 Dâ von liez wir uns alle noete wenden;

10 >

A study of these references brings us face to face with a number of engrossing questions. In the first place, who is the King in Amalís? What is the mountain in which Arthur is living? How and why did he come there? What sort of life is going on here? What sustains this luxurious court?

The opening stanzas are a reference to the Grail King who usually goes under the name of Anfortas. Here, however, as in Tilburg, the sick fisher king is Arthur. 11 > The general character of the mountain where Arthur is here said to dwell is obvious. He is with Felicia and Juno.. Both are pagan goddesses and the former is daughter of the Sibyl. The general impression which the account leaves with us is that this is a place of sensuous enjoyment. It is also the abode of the dead. But what sort of a place may that be where dead and living dwell together?

Artûs nôt kempfen ûz wesant,
sît er von disor welte chiet, in Kristen lant...
Feliciâ, Sibillen sint,
und Jûnô, die mit Artûs in dem berge sint,
die habent vleisch sal wir und ouch geheine.

And it is too apparently a Christian country where these are dwelling; Arthur sends heroes from here in Kristen lant. Compare here as well the passage from Turlin's Krone:

Dâ zwischen der alt sprach:...
Ich bin tôt, swie ich niht tôt seîn,
Unde daz gesinde nîn ...
Daz ist ouch tût mit mir;...
Wan dise vrouwen sint niht tût,
Sie lânt ouch kein ander nôt,
Wan daz sie sint, dâ ich bin...
Dise tugentrîche schar,
Als ich in geseit hân,
Die gotinne wol geleit
Und die vûnf juncvrouwen,... 12 >

The Krone was written not later than 1220 and attests to just such a story as is hinted at in the Wartburgkrieg, - Arthur and his knights in the Grail, together with some sort of a goddess and her retinue.

11. op. cit., page 12 12. Heinrich von der Turlin, Die Krone,
Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 27, lines 29532 - 29623

In the Wartburgkrieg we find also ein abbe and Lohengrin. We are led to wonder what the abbe is doing in this mountain paradise with these pagan goddesses, and not conclude that such a mixture of things secular and ecclesiastical is by no means the work of a churchman, nor any evidence of the sanctity of the place. So in one of the accounts of the Venusberg we find a priest in the boat with Hekel. 13> This other-world abode or faerie was regarded generally as an evil place and connection therewith as a grave mark of apostasy, hence the severe punishment of certain ones who admitted having been at the Venusberg. Branda's position is not therefore such as to lead us to believe that the author of the Wartburgkrieg holds his saint in any very great reverence. He is mentioned here because he was a well-known figure of the times and because of his own fabled journey to the otherworld across the sea, not because the writer wished to place his account with a hallowed presence. And connected with this strange mountain is the story of the Swan Knight, for Lohengrin is said to have been sent out from here by Arthur. This then is the place, the earthly paradise whence the Schwanritter has come, the earthly paradise called the Grail.

The poet asks furthermore how all the court is fed and clothed and otherwise provided for, leaving his question unanswered. But the answer was so plain that no one of his readers would have failed to understand him. The notion of unlimited supply here suggested is a plain reference to the Grail. Arthur is therefore the Grail king. And the bell? Is it not the bell of the Grallurg? The bell which

13. Hessische Hexenprocessacten, after Wolf, Zs. f. d. Myth., I, 272 ff. <see chapter on Venusberg under date 1650>

the Knights of the Grail or Parsival ever recognized the hill as Montsal-
raesch? Truly a mysterious bell was mentioned twice in the account
 as though a thing of importance in the legend. And the joy and
 plenty which figure so prominently in the account. It also plays a
 role. At its sound, which is evidently a call to duty without the
 mountain, we are told

die selbe glocke in allen dörfern ^{an} Grail.
 des wart die crasserie an freuden ^{an} laere.

as though the members of the brotherhood were loath to leave so
 pleasant a place. We learn as well that Arthur

hat kempfen ^{an} gesant,

which must include others besides Lohengrin who is mentioned specif-
 ically as one of those thus dispatched. We conclude, therefore,
 that the place is a confusion of Venus- and Grailberg, that the first
 is indicated by the presence of Felicia and Juno and the evidences
 of joy within; the second, by the miraculous provision of food and
 raiment, the mysterious bell, and the presence of Lohengrin, as well
 as the reference to the Fisher King. That is to say, what we have
 in the mountain of the Wartburgerie is a general paradisaical con-
 ception of great antiquity, and of non-Christian origin upon which
 later developed the Grail and Venusberg. In this older conception
 one of the most prominent figures was that here represented by
 Lohengrin, formerly known as the Knight of the Swan. In the course
 of time other heroes became associated with the place, because it
 was in reality the Valhalla or abode of the great departed. Among
 these was Arthur. Like Arthur the Schwanritter also went a devious
 way under Christian influence, until Helinandus reported that he

was said to come from the earthly paradise which is called the Grail, and the Saxon Chronicle could say

ausse Jungling Melias so gesungen unde den Barden, der
Venus in der Grail iss.

14 >

Very similar to the mountain of the Wartburgkrieg is that described by Dietrich a Niem 15 > and the Grail depicted in an old lexicon of the early 15. century:

Gralus: is ein wesen dynck dat eyr konig sy dat de
lude leven in vrolicheit wente an do juncsten dach.

16 >

Hertz thus sums up the matter in his notes to Parzival:

Lehr und Lehr wurde der Schwarritter, selbst in seiner
niederrheinischen Heimat, mit mystischen Augen be-
trachtet; man spürte ihm instinktiv seine heidnische
Herkunft an, und mit ihm erschien auch der Grail in
unheimlichen dämonischen Lichte. Lohengrin wandelte
auf des Tannhäusers Pfaden. So schreibt der holländ-
ische Chronist Veldenaer gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhun-
derts: Einige Chroniken sagen, der Schwarritter sei
aus dem Grail < dat greal > kommen, wie früher das
Paradies auf Erden geheissen habe. Aber das ist das
heilige Paradies nicht, sondern es ist ein sündiger
Ort, wo man durch grosses Abenteuer hineinkommt und
durch grosses Abenteuer und Glück wieder heraus.

17 >

We turn next to a more intimate consideration of this older paradisi-
cal idea upon which the conception of the Grail realm seems to be
based.

14. Abel, Sammlung etlicher noch nicht gedruckten alten Chroniken,
<1732>, page 56 15. Dietrich a Niem, De Schipgate, lib. 4 cap. 20,
after Schilter, Thesaurus Antiquitatum, vol. III, under Grail < see
also Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch, under grail >
16. Diefenbach, Glossarium, under Gralus, and sources cited 22b
17. Hertz, Parzival, page 465

THE KNIGHT OF THE SWAN

The Knight of the Swan was very early connected with certain reigning houses of the Netherlands. Chief among these were the Houses of Bouillon, Cleves and Brabant. With none did it become so intimately associated in popular thought as with the house of Bouillon. A great mass of story and song grew up which celebrated the lineage of this family as going back to the mythical knight who many centuries before came up the river in a boat drawn by a swan. The story in its briefest outlines goes on to tell that after his arrival he rescued an oppressed princess of the family, married her and imposed upon her the injunction never to ask him as to his origin upon penalty of losing him forever. The wife's curiosity at last got the better of her reason and she asked the fateful question, whereupon the knight took his departure, no one knows where, and was never seen again. The fact that the same story appears in connection with other families and at times in connection with none shows that it is a popular legend which has occasionally been localized. Its appearance is, furthermore, confined chiefly to the North country of Germany and Flanders. The mystery which surrounds the place from which this Knight of the Swan comes, together with certain other features mark it as the Beyond. That the knight is asleep in his boat, that he lays such a strange injunction upon his wife, and that again drawn by the swan he at last returns to the same mysterious nowhere from which he issued,- these things stamp his original home as not of this world.

A further indication that such was the popular notion concerning this place is given in the Saxon Chronicle of about 1498. There the disappearance is not in the form of a sad leave-taking, but is astonishingly sudden, and leaves no doubt as to where the knight has gone.

So fro alse se dusse Worde seap, da vorloss se Gec
uth den Bedde, dat se nicht en wuste, war dat se Gec.

1 >

The legend is, furthermore, of a very high antiquity. The first references which we find to it are in the 12. century and these themselves are extremely brief, implying a full knowledge of the myth on the part of the reader. John of Alvasilva tells a long story designed to explain the origin of the Schwanritter. He closes, however, with the brief lines:

Hic est cignus, de quo fama in eternum perseverat,
quod catlena aurea militem in navicula trahat armatum.

2 >

It is as though the writer were concerned in accounting for the origin of a character who up to his time had been well enough known but about whose real home not enough was known. Numerous other accounts of a similar nature are to be found later, such as the poem Le Chevalier au Cygne 3 > and the Middle English prose romance of the 15. century, The Knight of the Swanne. 4 > In all we can distinguish two parts which are really quite independent of each other and of which the second bears unmistakable traces of being the older and more popular.

1. Abel, Sammlung etlicher noch nicht gedruckten alten Chronicken, 1732 > page 56 2. Johannis de Alva Silva, Dolopathos, ed. Oesterly, page 79 3. ed. Reiffenberg; see introduction of this work for an exhaustive discussion of all features of the legend; see also Müller, Germania 1 and Blöte, ZfdA., 42 4. ed. Thoms, Early English Prose Romances, vol. 3, pages 1 - 149

lar . The first part in every case sounds like clever invention for a definite explanatory purpose. The second, however, is one of the most beautiful myths of Germanic antiquity, filled with a wealth of poetic imagery and an enchanting mystery. The two parts are not skilfully blended, but crudely welded so that we cannot help feeling that the opening account, to which indeed the most space is always given, as we should expect in the case of a carefully thought out story in contrast with the sterner simplicity of a folk myth, is merely a prolonged preface to the real story of part two. The original myth must have been that of a knight who returned from an unknown and unknowable far-off earthly paradise, and after a sojourn upon this earth, during which it was his object to help and bless, went back whither he had come. In its early form there is a certain brightness and attractiveness which has played powerfully upon the human soul from the days of earliest antiquity to the time of Wagner.

But this beyond or paradise was evilly regarded by the church. In the case of Grail and Arthur it was early and openly stamped as an abode of the damned. Heisterbach puts Arthur within a mountain which is the entrance to hell, and the Wartburgkrieg rebanes him with the Grail realm to the interior of another mountain. 5 > How the Grail paradise was regarded we have already seen. The respect felt for Godfrey of Bouillon was all that kept the Knight of the Swan from speedily sharing a like fate at the hands of the church. Even in his case the clergy seems to have felt some uneasiness over this myth which had attached itself so firmly to his family, and even the great name of Bouillon was not entirely sufficient protection to save

5. Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. Strange, XII, XII ; Wartburgkrieg, ed. Simrock, stanzas 83 - 87

the story from degradation. A middle English romance of Henry VI.'s reign, entitled The Knight of the Swan attempts to reconcile this discrepancy whereby to a great Christian was assigned a devilish and heathen ancestry. The romance essays two things in particular. First it would clear up any doubt as to the place whence the Swan Knight came. Second it takes great pains to show the hero as a deeply devout Christian. The attempt is not wholly successful, for though the new covering the old story still shows very distinctly. Helias, - such is the Christian name given the Swan Knight because of a fancied similarity between him in his swan-drawn boat and the prophet Elias <Helias or Elijah> in his fiery chariot, - is the son of Oryant and Beatrice, king and queen of Lyllefort. 6 > These are devout Catholics and pious people, and so the suspicion as to the origin of the mysterious Knight of the Swan is explained away. Unchanged however is the episode in Ninaya. The same injunction is laid upon the wife and forgotten as before. Here the one who has reconstructed the story has ceased to be master of his material and utterly failed to see that there is neither sense nor force to such an episode when it is perfectly well known whence the hero comes and that he comes from a place about which he need maintain no secrecy nor of which he need be ashamed. The old here shows through the new. Helias returns to Lyllefort, remaining however only a short time. As he departs again, this time like Danielken-Tanhäuser 7 >

with a single **staffe** in his hand,

he thus delivers himself:

6. cf. Reiffenberg, op. cit. vol. 1, page 224 7. Grässe, Der Tannhäuser und die Jungfrau, page 59 <no. VII, stanza 8>, Antoine de la Sale, La Salade, after Söderhjelm, Mémoires de la Société Néo-Patristique à Helsingfors, page 132

I wyll here in generall recomende you to God, and say it revell, for to go aghen to life and live be religious. For seyinge the graces and devine benedictions that God hath pleased to shew for us, it behoveth to do this divine wyll that I take payne to save my soule and pray for al my freendes.

8 >

And later we hear in the same strain how his deserted wife, the duchess of Bouillon, sent messengers to find him out and enquire whether

the sayd Helias has enterprysed the viage of the holy sepulchre for his remission.

9 >

only to learn that he is now a recluse

where as he prayeth God and doth penance ^{for} to save his soule.

10 >

The author has overshot the mark in his effort to make the Swan Knight thoroughly Christian. What crime has he committed, for which he must do such penance? Is it wife-desertion? Serious though that offence may be both legally and morally, it is hardly consistent with the story that we should be given to understand that it is for this he must pay. Some deeper motive lies back of the self-imposed penance pictured by the ecclesiastical narrator. It is too the first intimation which comes to us that the Schwahnritter must needs do penance, and is also the starting point of that motive in the Tannhäuser legend, for it reflects a spirit of suspicion towards the Knight of the Swan which lies at the bottom of the ill repute of every occupant of this heathen paradise. Tannhäuser too is moved by a feeling of deepest repentance and would go to yield himself religious. In his case the motive is apparent, - his sojourn in the Venusberg, that

more of the foul fiend. May we not infer that the same reasoning was led to this feature of penance in the Schwanritter story? Such contrition after a life in which there is no wrong is not an echo of an older story where it was not known whence the hero came or whether he returned and which had been regarded as evil by the church. It is this good measure of righteousness pressed down and running over that betrays clearly how the usual and earlier form of the story had been regarded and why it was thought necessary to introduce certain modifications into it. The Knight of the Swan is penitent, not because of his abuse in the good Lyllefort, but because of what the Lyllefort of the present story was prior to this supposed to be, to wit, an earthly paradise, in which I understand not a paradise upon this earth, but one in which the joys of this life are enjoyed to the full unalloyed by its pains, and that is no Christian spot, but a sinful and fleshly heathen paradise, such as the imagination of pagan peoples has always revelled in. The older story shows in the Saxon Chronicle:

so meynen de Historien-Schriber, düsse Jun. King Helias
sy geschen uthe dem Berge, dar Venus in den Grale iss.

11>

and again in van der Schuren, who really must be citing Helinand correctly 12> in the light of what Wolfram, Johannes de Altasilva and Albrecht von Scharfenberg tell us, we hear that he <Helias> came out of the earthly paradise which some call the Grail. 13> This Pignius echoes in 1609. 14>

11. Abel, op. cit., page 56 12. cf. Blöte, ZfdA., vol. 42, pages 5, 6 13. Johannes de Altasilva, op. cit., page 79; Albrecht von Scharfenberg, Der jüngere Titurel, Bibl. der gesamten d. Nat.-Lit., vol. 24, page 2, stanza 79; Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival, 824 - 826 14. Pignius, Hercules prodicius, after Reiffenberg, op. cit., page 224

The myth of the Swan-Knight is, at last long since dead, is one and the same with that of Siegfried, and is of the same kind as the first which heroes come and to which they return. Later it is Daniel-Tarläuser of whom the story goes that he came out of that hollow-mountain paradise and returned, where Venus held her court.

15. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, vol 1, pages 342 - 343, Leo, Ueber Beowulf, page 20 ff. Kemble, Ueber die Stammtafel der Westsachsen

TANHAUSER.

Tanhäuser's connection with the Venusberg has not as yet been explained satisfactorily. Despite all the work done upon his life and poetry, - work as a result of which we find ourselves today much nearer a correct understanding of the situation, - students of the question concede frankly and generally that the final link whereby the Minnesinger's connection with the love mountain and its queen is to be explained is still missing. The trouble is not hard to locate. We have, I fear, looked too closely at the historical Tanhäuser and allowed our attention to be turned from the real point about which the whole question centers. The study of Tanhäuser the Minnesinger has suggested but one thing as a possible explanation, to wit, is sensuality and the wild life which he seems to have led. But this is of itself insufficient; it does not go far enough to bridge the gap between the character of history and that of the folk-song. It does not remove the objection that there is no logical reason apparent why this particular Minnesinger should have been made the hero of the Venusberg myth. Other objections also present themselves. The coat of arms found in the famous Heidelberg manuscript and those belonging to the various houses of Tanhäuser do not correspond. Further on, in the days when the story was flourishing there seems to have existed a noticeable uncertainty as to who the hero of the song really was and from what part of the country he came. These are difficulties

which have never been explained away.

It will be useless to approach the problem by purely speculative methods, as Mr. Remy has done, ¹ or from Richard W. Meyer's standpoint of slavish adherence to what great scholars have already laid down. ² I shall, therefore, ask my readers to follow me along a somewhat new line of reasoning to a solution of the Tannhäuser question which may perhaps claim to be more rational.

Source of the popular story.

What we of the present know as the story of Tannhäuser has come down to us from the 16. century, when the famous folk-song was first printed on so-called fliegende Blätter. From the frequency with which the song appeared, it must have been a most popular hit of folk-lore, and yet the only difference between the Tannhäuser story as it was told in the 16. century and that of a century earlier is the somewhat greater richness of detail and considerable gain in dramatic effect of the later version. The art of printing suddenly brought to light the song of Tannhäuser and spread it broadcast to make its appeal to the German people for centuries, until at last it was lifted to a still higher beauty by the touch of Wagner. Since the story of Tannhäuser is nowhere told complete earlier than in the folk-songs of the 16. century our consideration of the problem must begin with a somewhat detailed examination of these. From here it will be possible to work backward through the scanty material of the preceding hundred years.

1. Remy, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, vol. XII, page 32 ff. 2. Meyer, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, vol. 21, page 1 ff.

The extant
versions.

The different versions of the folk-song are listed in full by Grässe, and of the most typical he has given the entire text. 3> These I have used as a basis, excluding as a rule the modernized forms. It is not necessary, in fact, to consider any version later than the 16. century, inasmuch as such are but repetitions and variants of the story as it first appeared. In the case of the song found by Uhland in the Entbuch district the lapse of time has been so great and the opportunity for change so considerable that it gives us nothing certain upon which to build, 4> and the same is in greater or less degree of all later versions. Before the folk-song of the 16. century there are but two connected accounts, those of Barbarino and la Sale. We have nothing else earlier touching upon the story save references and allusions, and these for the most part to the song itself. From Faber's report we learn that the Volkslied of the 16. century must have been known by the year 1450 or thereabouts, for he tells us in 1483 that in his time this song was commonly sung by the people of Germany, and a conservative estimate would put the extreme limit of the time of which he speaks at least thirty years earlier. What Faber has to say is scanty, but he gives essentials of especial significance for our later investigation.

*Carmen conflictus habetur, quod manifeste a vulgo per
Alemannico caritur de quodam nobili Suevo, quem nominant
Danhuser, de Danhusen villa prope Dandelspachel. Hunc
lingunt ad tempus in contu cum Verore fuisse, et cum
poenitentia ductus, papae fuisset confessor, de epta
iussit sibi absolutio, et ita regressus in montem rus-
quam conparuit, et in deliciis vivit, ut dicunt, usque
ad diem iudicii. Ecce, quam facile homines in errores
abducuntur credentes fictionibus!*

5>

3. Grässe, Der Tannhäuser und die ewige Jude, pages 20 - 23, 33 - 69
4. Uhland, Volkslieder, bk. V, no. 297c; also Grässe, op. cit., page 50
5. Faber, Evangelium, Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 4, page 150a

A study of
the folk-song.

It becomes a matter of interest, therefore, to know more about this song with which Tannhäuser was familiar. I shall ask my readers to consider it as the question as to which of the 16. century versions is the oldest. The solution will determine what the form of the song must have been that the well-travelled German knew, and may offer the clue from which to explain Tannhäuser's entrance into the story. In the chapters on Grail and Venusberg I have shown that the whole idea of a hollow-mountain paradise such as we have in the Tannhäuser legend came down from a time prior to Tannhäuser's life, and from this it necessarily follows that the hero of the Venusberg myth was not originally the Minesinger. The Knight of the Swan - Helias or Lohengrin as he was called at different times - was popularly believed to have hailed from this earthly paradise, and that too very early, as early as the time of Wolfram, if not before. The Wartburgkrieg tells of Arthur likewise as an occupant of such a place, and Caesarius von Heisterbach plays upon the same belief when he says Arthur is in mount Aetna. 6 > Our study of the different versions of the Tannhäuserlied must aim, therefore, to determine how Tannhäuser came to supplant these his mythical forerunners.

The folk-song: its
divisions and purpose.

The Tannhäuser legend as the people of Luther's day told it is composed of three essential parts. Of these the first part pictures the knight's attempt to get leave to go. This scene is followed by an account of Tannhäuser's unsuccessful trip to Rome in search of

6. Wartburgkrieg, ed. Stroock, stanzas 83 - 87, Dialogus Mirabilium, ed. Strange, XII, XII

absolution. It is a description of the hero's return from the mountain out of which he had come to start a new world. Every version which is complete shows the same parts. Each song ends with a dialogue between Danhuser and Venus wherein he is seeking leave to depart and she is striving to keep him. The beginning of the poem and its whole tenor make it an didactic. The purpose is to teach some lesson. Now and then this moral trend, which is evident enough from the general structure of the poem as well as from its title, is given open expression. We read of the poem in one version:

Des wozz der Tierne hant Urian
auch ewig sein verloren. 7 >

Another of the songs sets it even more pointedly:

Wirtsecket den die leyde niden,
de syt der helle dreyden,
So wylle Gade syne spene niden,
de sol nochte volder bliwen...
De Pawes bedroude sich ganz ser
he lefft gelove alle stunde,
Ghat syl erfuelen Danhusers beger
und vergeuen em sine suende. 8 >

and the Entluchlied states it most neatly of all:

Du sol kein papst, noch kardinal
kein sunder die verdammten,
der sunder den sein so gade er wil
kein gottes gade erlangen. 9 >

This is plainly enough the moral carried by the 16. century folk-song, although not, in my opinion, the one originally intended by the story.

The Tanhuserlied is not, therefore, a story told merely for its own sake, a description of the Venusberg, its joys and its pleasures,

7. Grässe, op. cit., page 44
page 52

8. *ibid.*, page 48, 49

9. *ibid.*,

as was Barbarino's world of the Sirel. 10> These things fall into the background and another theme occupies our attention. Some lines are being drawn from the experience of a man who has been in a hell-like mountain paradise. The poem opens at a point where Tanhäuser is about to leave, all that has gone before is little remembered or receives only indirect allusion. He, for instance, is left to the imagination, or little is really told in those scanty stanzas with which the poem is so artfully prefaced!

Nur will ich aber lassen an
von den Danhäuser sinnen
und was er damals hat getan
mit Venus, der süßen Minne.

Danhäuser war ein Ritter guet
wann er wolt wunder schauen,
er wolt in iraw Venus lerg
zu andern schönen frawen.

11>

More is given us in the form of allusions to the life which Tanhäuser must have been leading here with Venus in her fairy kingdom. Of that life he himself has to say:

Mein leib^{he} ist ~~in~~ worden krank,
ich mag nit lenger bleiben,
nun got mir urlot, freilein zart,
von euren stolzen leibe!...

Ein Minne ist ~~in~~ worden leid...
ich mag nit lenger bleiben.
Herrin Mutter, reine Maid,
nun hilf mir von den weiben!

12>

What the poet intends his hearers to learn is not of Tanhäuser's life within the mountain, but his unhappy experience in attempting to get out. Scholars are not, however, unanimous in their interpre-

10. Andrea da Barberino, Guerino il Meschino, <popular edition of Salani, Firenze, 1903> Part V, chapter 8 ff. 11. Grasse, op. cit. page 41 12. Grasse, op. cit., pages 42, 43

tation of the soul. Some <inclination to a certain fear to
 when Meyer demands such slavish subservience> regard the song as an
 antipapal document from its first inception, the rising of some energy
 at the church of Rome. The earliness of the attack is to be explain-
 ed, they say, from those protestant outcries in last days of the
 Hohenstaufen which presaged by two centuries the eruption of Luther's
 day. The head of the church is held up to scorn as a hard-hearted
 prelate not merely waiting in God's grace but even discredited by
 that grace. The singing, but penitent Tauluser, in such the same
 spirit which actuated Luther's greatest efforts, turns from man-in-
 vested pope to God himself, - and does not turn in vain. A very early
 commentator, one of the first men who had gotten far enough away from
 the time when the story was created to view it not as a believer but
 a critic, advances this view in very plain terms indeed.

1604

In the song of Tauluser which is common song and
 circulated occur the words: 'So through Pope Urban he
 was damned forever and for aye.' Pope Urban was un-
 doubtedly the cause of Tauluser's going back into
 Venus' court, that is to say, into the brothels in
 which he had been revelling, and of his being lost e-
 ternally. People commonly read 'for the pope', but
 improperly so. Unless I am in error Tauluser himself
 is the author of the song, for he took the part of
 the emperor against the pope, in abuse of whom the
 song seems to have been composed.

13>

Such a story was strong meat and there can be no doubt in what sense
 contemporary thought must have taken it. The interpretation of the
 folk-song as a protestant document is, therefore, sound, so far as
 the version of the 16. century is concerned, but I am unable to be-
 lieve that such was its original spirit.

13. Melchior Goldast, Paraeneticorum veterum, after Grässe, op. cit.,
 page 27; Golther, Walthalla, vol. 3, page 35

A more recent view, advanced for the first time by Mr. Reay, 14 / believes the song to be the earliest form to have been a legend of mercy, the story of a repentant mortal from faerie, who, despite his great sin, received absolution because of his contrite spirit. This version, he submits, became under protestant influences the legend of an unforgiving pope. I can say little of such a view except that it seems unsupported by actual evidence and is advanced chiefly upon the premise that there is, according to catholic doctrine, no sin so great it can not be forgiven a repentant, wherefore, in a catholic age, the song could never have been conceived in the spirit manifested in the modern version. This is, however, a fine ecclesiastical point which none but one well-versed in doctrines of the church would be likely to bear long in mine, particularly if under the impulse of a desire to picture a dramatic situation, nor yet impossible of being ignored even by the cloth in a sermon against some especially deadly sin. But let us for the present drop these matters of interpretation, until a more fitting opportunity presents itself for explaining the real course which the Tahlhäuser story has followed from its original inception.

Comparison of different versions. Part I.

The purpose of the folk-song is evident to the extent that all are agreed that it has a purpose. What the lesson may be which the three parts are marshalled to teach we can let rest for a time, while we turn our attention to these parts themselves. If we can deter-

one which of these is the oldest we shall find it easier to judge what the moral is that the poem was designed to draw.

The description of Van Tarhäuser gets down to go out from Venus out, which may be called part one of the poem, offers material of a more obvious nature than either of the other two divisions. I call attention in the first place to a somewhat mathematical comparison of part one as it exists in the different versions of the 16. century song, which will, I hope, prove not unfruitful for our purpose. With the exception of one song all devote some twelve or thirteen stanzas to Tarhäuser's departure. On the other hand there are but five or six given to the trip to Rome and only four to the return. In short, fully half of the poem is given over to part one, even when we throw in with the other two a few verses of a miscellaneous nature for good measure. These figures contain an inner meaning of prime importance. The single version which devotes but six stanzas to part one, as compared with five and seven respectively to parts two and three, is that well-known Flemish song going under the name of the Danielkenlied. How are we to explain this striking difference? In order to set the facts fairly before my readers I have set down in parallel columns the description of Tarhäuser's leave-taking as given in the song of Heer Danielken and in one of the other 16. century versions. For the purposes of this comparison I have selected a high German version, but one which is fairly typical. 15 > Any of the others, in fact, could be substituted with the same results. The Tarhäuserlieder of the 16. century not only preserve the story of the preceding century with little modification, but they also agree among themselves to such a fine point of detail that we must, I believe,

assume an interrelation, a more or less considerable copying, either from each other or from some older source.

Oorlof, sprac hy, vrouwe waert!
ende ick wil van u scheiden,
ich wil gaen trecken te Romen
waert
al om des paus gheleiden.-

Heer Daniel, wilt ghy oorlof
ontfaen,
ich en wil u niet begheven:
laet ons in die camer gaen,
die hoogste minne plegen.-

Dat en doe ick niet, vrouwe
fier!
ghy dunct in alle minen sinne,
uw oghen bernen al waert een
vier,
ghy dunct, ghy sijt een duivel-
inne.-

Heer Daniel, wat ist dat ghy
secht?
ghy en dort u niet vernemen;
coont ghy noch weder in den
berch,
dat woort en sal ick niet ver-
gleeten.

Trouwen neen ick, jonckfrou
stout!
nu noch te ghenen stonden
en peise ick om dijnen roden
mont,
die en achte ick niet tot allen
stonden.

Daniel, wilt ghy oorlof ontfaen,
neent oorlof aen dei grijsen,
werwaert dat ghy lenen keert,
onsen lof sult ghy al tijt
grijsen.

Danhauser was ain ritter groot
wann er wolt wunder schawen,
er wolt in frau Venus lere
zu andren schönen frawen.

Herr Danhauser, ir seind wir lieb,
daran sölt ir bedenken!
ir hat wir ainem ain gesevorn:
ir wölt von wir nit trennen.

Frau Venus! das erlaß ich nit,
ich will das widersprechen,
und redt das ienants mer dann ir
gott helf mir an ir rechen!

Herr Danhauser, wie reut ir nun?
ir sölt lei mir beleiben;
ich will euch mein gespiln geben
zu ainem stäten weile.

Und nāc ich nun ain ander weib
ich hab in meinen sinnen:
so muest ich in der helle gluoet
auch ewiglich verprinnen.

Ir sagt viel von der helle gluoet,
habt es doch nie erfunden,
bedenkt an meinen roten mund!
der laecht zu allen stunden.

Was hilft ich euer roter mund?
er ist mir gar unware;
nun gelt mir urlob, freulin zart,
durch aller frawen ere!

Danhauser! wölt ihr urlob han
ich will euch kainen geben;
nun pleibt sie, edler Danhauser,
und fristen euer leben!

Hein leber das ist worden kranz,
 ich mag nit lenger pleiben;
 nun gebt mir urlob, frewleins zart,
 von euren stolzen leibe!

Danhauser, nit redet also!
 ir tuond buch nit wol besinnen;
 so sen wir in ain kernerlein
 und spielen der edlen sinne!

Eur sinne ist mir worden laid,
 ich hab in meinem sinne:
 fraw Venus, edle fraw so zart!
 ir seind ain teufelinne.

Herr Danhauser, was reut ir nun
 und dass ir mich tuond schelten?
 und söllt ir länger hier innen
 ir questens sir entgelten. sein

Fraw Venus! das erwill ich nit,
 ich mag nit lenger pleiben.
 Maria muoter, reine magd,
 nun hilf mir von den weiben.

Danhauser, ir sölt urlob han,
 mein lof das sölt ir preisen,
 und wa er in dem land um iart
 neyt urlob von dem greisen!

The more a story is handled about the more are its chances of being changed and amplified improved. This growth of the circulating story is proverbial, and it is here that we must look for the real explanation of the much greater length of part one in all versions save that of Daniel. The song of Sir Daniel alone seems to be relatively independent. And yet in its seven stanzas it tells the story with every essential element present. Each character speaks three times and the entire picture is before us, Tanhäuser's letter longings, his suspicions, and Venus' blandishments. We must weigh this description well if we would see all the artistic beauty there-

is contained, and I am sure when it is appreciated the additions of other versions will lose much of their attractiveness, because they are seen for the additions which they are. There is to be noted in the Danielkenlied that fine dramatic instinct, that wonderful power of beautiful proportioning which so often appears in astonishing purity in the real folk-song. It will not be expedient to waste time to expatiate upon the instinctive poetic sense of the Volkslied, but no finer example could, I am sure, be adduced for its illustration. Daniel asks leave to go to see the pope. Venus refuses to give her permission and endeavors to turn his thoughts from such things by suggesting that he enjoy her love. But this is the very matter which has been troubling him; the suggestion arouses his latent fear to the point of frenzy and he sadly cries out his suspicion that Venus is a devil. This is the climax, and as such the poet has recognized it, for the conclusion follows in about the same interval as was occupied by the ascending action. The perfect balance and obvious intent of this unit is apparent. Venus is taken back, is silenced in her pleading. The devil has been detected and resisted and his flight is assured. With an angry threat for the word which Daniel has spoken the queen grants him the leave he so earnestly desires. In every version it is evident that it is this which turns the balance in the hero's favor, this recognition and open challenge of the prince of darkness, and yet in other versions how that magnificent scene has been padded out with irrelevant material, loaded down with useless ornamentation!

Stanza by stanza the direct and simple story as told in the Danielkenlied has been amplified. First comes the bit of explanation already referred to.

Danhauser was ein ritter, got
 wann er wolt was der lewen
 er wolt in iraw Venus berg
 zu den schönen frauen.

As I have remarked before, this stanza is not at all adequate as an introduction: it leaves us quite as much to construct from our own imagination as we should have without it. But it does so so strongly of the formal beginning: it is nothing more than the little stanza of some single soul who was indeed to make everything painfully plain. That Tanhäuser is a knight is evident from the rest of the poem. In this version as in the Danielken song he is called Herr. In the Flemish version that of itself is deemed sufficient to indicate his position. The rest of this opening stanza as well is fully evident from the story of the poem, but none too logically put together.

What is the meaning of

Danhauser was ein ritter, got
 wann er wolt was der schönen?

The first two lines are too obvious to have any weight, and, in short, the whole strophe is evidently manufactured out of the story itself to serve as an introduction. Neither artistically nor logically does it belong there, and in the Danielkenlied it is absent.

Herr Danhauser, ir seind wir lieb,
 daran söl ir gedenken!
 Ir seind wir eiden aid geschworen:
 ir wölt von wir nit reken.

The opening sentence here is merely a weakened repetition of that far more passionate expression of love

so gen wir in ain kernerlein
 und spilen der edlen sinne!

The matter of the oath which Tanhäuser is said to have sworn but which he stoutly denies is an addition that is the outgrowth of Tanhäuser's

charge that Venus is a devil. The medieval notion of a pact with the devil included the idea of a solemn and binding oath. At times such an oath was even sealed with blood, as in the story of Faust. Now Tanhäuser has plainly come into relationship with the devil. He has been living in the company with Venus of whom the Fastnachtspiel says:

Fröw Venus ist $\frac{1}{2}$ teufeliche,
wie sie leucht aus claren gold. 16 >

and into whose mouth Brant puts the statement:

Do hab ich narren vil verfiert
Der ich nie keiner an hat verfiert
Den Tanhäuser hab ich gezogen
Wer er was es wär nit erlogen
Der teufel hat sy all betrogen 17 >

It is not to be supposed that the joys of the place were this for nothing, some agreement we naturally should assume there must have been. And yet to forestall this very natural conclusion on the part of his audience the poet has introduced this dialogue of the oath which occupies a portion of this and the succeeding stanza. The whole idea has suggested itself, however, from the larger theme that Venus is a devil and is a later addition which fits none too well into its surroundings. To make the point clearer let us turn to the next.

Fröw Venus! das enba ich nit,
ich will das widersprechen,
und redt das ieman'd ner dær ir
Gott helf mir an ir rechen!

One of the most significant changes in the original story has been

16. Golther, Wallalla, vol. 3, page 29 17. Narrenschiff, Augsburg, 1490, ciii < after Uland, Schriften, vol. 4, pages 285, 286 >

made by this stanza. From the point of view of the 16. century song, Tanhäuser is a repentant singer seeking a solution which he should receive, and would, were it not for the hard-hearted pope. So ardent a churchman as Thomas Murner recognized this and made a part of his Narrenbeschwörung this scornful allusion:

Darnach ¹gib uns der ²l^{er}rend^t schüler
 Uns frau Venus herg ein lüder
 Und dan vil vom Tanhuser sagen,
 Und ³wer einen laste klagen,
 Der ⁴in sin sundt ist al wolt lon,
 Und wie frau Venus ⁵so schon.

18 >

This being the case it must be made clearly evident that he is within the range of forgiveness, that he has not committed the unpardonable sin. I have spoken earlier of the doctrinal theory that no sin is so great that it may not at last be forgiven, and I must express my further conviction at this point that the Middle Ages did very commonly regard one who had sold himself to the devil as beyond the power of God's mercy. Such was a widespread and general feeling. The purpose of this stanza and the one preceding, is, therefore, to clear Tanhäuser of that suspicion which must otherwise rest upon him. In no other way could the antipapal spirit of the poem come to its full expression. It must be definitely stated that Tanhäuser has made no real pact with the devil, that he is merely a deluded victim. The knight's indignant, even violent denial heightens the effect which this touch is designed to give, and the fact that there is no further effort made by Venus to push the question gives further evidence that the whole situation is lugged in for a purpose. The offer of a true wife which comes next in order is on its face the most lu-

dicrous addition of all.

Herr Tanhäuser, wie weit ir mir?
ir söl+ lei mir beleihen;
ich will euch mein gespiln geben
zu ainem steten weibe.

In the light of the situation what are we to understand by such an offer as this? Venus, whose love Tanhäuser has doubtless enjoyed before and which he is soon to have offered him again, Venus makes him this promise of a wife! Like the oath, this has been suggested by one of the essentials of the story, for Tanhäuser is bent on going to Rome to confess his sin, that is to say, his Christian conscience has been awakened and Venus' offer is a weak attempt to furnish him with something wherewith to appease his moral qualms. The marriage bond was of course in the days when the Tanhäuserlied entered a religious sacrament, and medieval thought conceived of it as especially hated by the devil. It is to this conception that the incident of Faust's experience is to be traced, where the devil gives him such fearful warning against considering marriage. 19> Venus, therefore, to disarm Tanhäuser's suspicions that she is of the evil one makes this truly Christian offer, which by the very nature of the case she is unable to fulfill. For how could a devil confirm or be instrumental in a marriage covenant, or how could one of the devil's own be a suitable partner for such a union? The Entlibuchlied has it:

ich wil euch die jungste tochter gā
zu einem eliche weibe...
Die jungste tochter die wil ich nie,
sie treit der teufel in ire. 20>

which I take to be the same idea carried to an even more ludicrous extreme. Venus evidently has in mind that Tanhäuser shall remain

19. cf. The History of ...Dr. John Faustus, ed. Thoms, Early English Prose Romances, 3, 181 ff. 20. Grasse, op. cit., page 50

in her abode and there enjoy this proposed marriage. The thing is of itself absurd! This stanza, too, I fear, we shall have to relegate to the group of ornamentations with which a simpler story has been later embellished.

The reference to the Virgin which is seemingly meant in the succeeding stanza is but a further play upon Rahnäuser's repentance and expressed desire to hunt out the pope.

Und nüm ich nur ain ander weib
ich hab in meinen sinnen:
so wuest ich in der helle gluoet
auch ewiglich verprinnen.

This sudden revulsion of feeling and complete devotion to the good and holy, while perhaps conceivable, is nevertheless overdone, and is the result of the singer's desire to make Tannhäuser out as really repentant. In the Danielkenlied the repentance is evident enough but not dwelt upon at such length, because for the original purposes of the song it was not necessary so to do. Tannhäuser's fear of the fires of hell at just this point is not without significance. He has taken his stand on the side of the right and is shown to be a fit object of mercy. The pope's refusal is anticipated and we are prepared to receive it in the proper critical spirit when it comes.

By this time it must be evident to my readers, I think, how many ideas are suggested in the simpler version which serve as excellent starting-points for further expansion in the fuller songs, and when we remember how small a suggestion can influence popular thought in matters of story-telling it should be no cause for surprise that such numerous digressions have occurred in the particular portion of the Tannhäuser story under consideration. To popular fancy such a

there as is afforded by this dialogue between Venus and Tambusor is tremendously attractive and it is small wonder that in the many decades during which the song travelled about from north to south, practically unrestrained by written form and at the mercy of every singer who chose to touch it, this charming theme should have been toyed with and dwelt upon at the expense of a better sense of proportion, even at the expense of the real meaning of the poem.

We have, however, not yet finished with the examples. Venus replies to Tambusor's speech concerning the temptations of hell:

Ir sagt viel von der helle flucht,
habet es doch nie erfunden,
gedenkt an weinen roten mund!
der lacht zu allen stunden.

The extent to which copying can be carried in the way of expanding a folk-song is here admirably illustrated in the case of the first line. In another version a repetend occurs in the form of the verse:

Gy seggen my vel van kemerlyn,

which is, of course, but a later echo of the earlier line

Gy seggen vele van der helle grunt,
21 >

The mention of Venus' red lips made first by Venus herself is but an expansion of a theme contained in the Flemish song where Daniel says:

Trouwen geen ick, jonckfrou stout!
en noch te ghenen stonden
en seise ick om uijnen roden mont,
die en acnte ick niet tot allen stonden.

The further development of this simple statement into a dialogue is unnecessary to the story itself. That it is Daniel who first mentions the red lips in this way need not, on the other hand, be re-

guarded as evidence of the elipsis or omission in the Danielshied. No clear is more often met with in medieval descriptions of ideal female beauty than is that of the red lips. It stands in fact for a general symbol of feminine beauty. It also bears with it the suggestion of sensual love. So in the Song of Solomon; in the midst of a description whose imagery is all borrowed from sensuous, nay even voluptuous oriental conceptions of female beauty, occurs the line:

Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet.
22 >

We read elsewhere that her lips were red as rubies or burned as fire, and so ad libitum.

Ir mündlin rot als ein rubin 23 >

says Sachsenspiegel, and Meister Albert:

Ir mündlin braun als ein rubin...
Ach, wie gar dir da schrei
Die zart uz roten rund...
Lechlich was ir roter munt...
Daz mündlin braun als ein rubin. 24 >

Heinrich Wittenweiler has it in Der Ring:

Aus ewren mündlein ein rubein
Prinnet... 25 >

Instances are numerous in Tanhäuser the Minnesinger. He addresses his love of her mündel rot, 26 > and on another he says:

ir munt ist rot, ir helle ist blank...
Ir munt braun, als ein rubin gegen
der sunne glaste. 27 >

22. Chapter 4, verse 3 23. Mörin, Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 137, line 297
24. Der Spiegel, ibid., vol. 21, pages 132, 133, 23, 25
25. ibid., vol. 23, page 49 26. Von der Hagen, Minnesinger, vol. 2, page 93
27. ibid., page 84, page 89

And in one of his particularly sensual songs he sings:

Da wir sament in den kle
traten, uns was sanfte we:
die schoenen druckte ich her ze mir,
si <tet> glei, daz ez vil lute erhal;
ir roten munt den kust ich ir.
si sprach: 'ir bringet mich in schal.'

Alsus wart ich ir rede geselle,
ich nam si bi der wizen hant,
von uns wart ein guot gevelle,
mir wart herze liebe erkant.

28>

Grimm cites a Middle High German proverb which shows clearly that this idea rests upon a sensual conception and that this is doubtless its meaning in the Danielkenlied. Under fut we read:

heiziu fut und mündlin rot
bringent manegen man in not. <Wörterbuch>

When Daniel says, therefore, in the Danielkenlied:

en peise ick om dijnren roden mont,
die en achte ich niet tot allen stonden.

it is of itself quite sufficient. He means that Venus' beauty has no hold upon him, and this simple statement finds expansion into dialogue form in other versions. And so at last comes the point where the Danielkenlied really begins.

nun gebt mir urlob, frewlin zart,
durch aller frawen ere!

The same play upon Tanhäuser's contrition is here made as formerly. He calls upon Venus to let him go in the name of the Virgin, in fine he exorcises the devil.

The best example of the expansion of which we are speaking is to be found in the succeeding three stanzas. Of these the first two lines and the two which close form together one stanza of the Danielken song. All that lies between is mere toying with an idea that has al-

ready had as full expression as it deserved under the circumstances of the poem.

Dankhauser! öh! ^h urlo! han	Deer Daniel, wilt my oorlo!
ich will even küssen Jones	let my oil is niet bevoeven: <faen,
	han pleist is , edel! Dankhauser,
	and tristen over leeren!
	Mein leeren has ist vo der krank,
	ich mag, mit longer pleisen,
	man gest mir urlo, frewdich hart
	von einer stolzen leise!
	Dankhauser, nit rodet also!
	ir tand auch mit wol besinger,
so gen wir in air kenerlein	laet ons in die caner faen,
and spilen der edler minne!	die hoochste minne pleghen.

The thought is not quite that a convinced story-teller, one who had told the story all himself would be likely to introduce. It gives Tanhäuser no credit that after so long an absence in this prothel he has become sick unto death of the little love, that a role is but a poor repentance common to every wauldin rake. This is not the real source of Tanhäuser's contrition, not the motive apparent in the Danielkenied. There it is the conviction that Venus is a devil which moves the knight to his sudden leave-taking. Heine too loses sight of the real spirit of the song when in his Tanhäuserlied he makes his hero say:

Fräulein Venus, du bist eine schöne Frau,
 wann sassen Wein und Küssen
 ist meine Seele worden krank;
 ich schwächte nach Bitternissen.

Wir haben zu viel gescherzt und gelacht,
 ich sehne mich nach Tränen,
 und statt mit Rosen möcht' ich mein Haupt
 mit spitzigen Dornen krönen. 29 >

Such weakening elements as these crept into the song after the fundamental idea was partially lost sight of.

From here on the two versions which we are comparing move along

29. Heinrich Heine, Die Götter im Exil, <after Goethe, op. cit., 38>

step for step to the end of part one. The description has taken place principally at the expense of the poem. Under the circumstances this is what we should be led to expect. The scene is itself dramatic and interesting, - it is a glimpse into the forbidden at a closed realm of Venus. Much more attractive than the episode of the place outside the mountain of the poem is the glimpse into the interior of the Venusberg. So Paradise Lost is more interesting than Paradise Regained. It was only natural, therefore, that this part should have become the peculiar object of the singer's attention, that in the frequent repetition of the story the leave-taking should have been most dwelt upon.

In the next last stanza of part one as given by the song of Daniel is contained all that sentiment of disgust which in the other versions is spread over several.

Tröwen neem ick, ^u ~~ja~~ ^u ~~trouwen~~ stout!
 en ^u ~~trouwen~~ te ~~trouwen~~ bruden
 en geise ick en dighen roden
 die en achte ick niet tot alich bruden.

The real gist of the matter is here expressed. This lack of trust, this suspicion is the very thing which forces Daniel to break away, and the song at this point, as throughout, never loses the real purpose for which it was composed from sight.

One of the most conspicuous examples of copying, and that too unintelligent copying, is in the last stanza. Says Venus in the Danielkenlied:

Daniel, wilt ghy oorlof ontfaen,
 neent oorlof aen die Grijzen.

It is not my purpose at this particular time to enter a discussion

of the significance of the sentence, whereas I have given it proof in support of the view that what is meant here is that Daniel got his permission to leave from one in authority over Vener. 30 > There I have also endeavored to show the futility of attempting to explain the words aen die grijsen as a plural form and having specific reference to dwarfs. Aen die grijsen has no active singular or native plural, so far as the form itself is concerned. Our other version has caught the true sense of the matter and puts it:

hent orloft van den grijsen! 31 >

What have the others done, what do they mean by their plural

hent orloft van den Grijsen? 32 >

If, as I believe has been previously made evident, 33 > the line really has reference to Arthur, that is to say, to the king of this paradise, then the plural can mean nothing. But the form

aen die grijsen

sounds to a German ear like a plural and could with the greatest ease have been so misconstrued. That it had no meaning as a plural mattered little, for the real significance of the story as a whole had long since been lost to view and a senseless turn more or less was of no importance. A clearer case of copying would be hard to find.

The meaning of the numerical data which I gave at the opening of this discussion has now, I hope, become more evident. Whereas the Danielkenlied proceeds in so orderly, purposeful and extremely direct fashion, as though it were the poet's intention to arrive at some definite goal by means of the story he is telling, the other singers

30. Barto, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, vol. XII, no. 2

31. Grässe, op. cit., page 43

32. ibid., page 47

33. Barto, op. cit.

Hebby seven jaer in den berch
 gheweest
 met vrou Venus die duivelinne,
 so sult ghy bernen ewelick
 al in die helsche pine.

Die paus nam eenen droogen stock
 ende stack hem in die aerde
 te evenen:
 wanneer desen stock rosen draecht
 dan sijn uw sonden vergeven.

Ich wil bewaken, alch ain jar
 bei Venus alreit inwon,
 'wer wilt' ich beicht und buos
 erlangen
 o ich möcht mit' erlangen.

Der papst hat ain stein in
 seiner hand
 und das was also durn:
 'als weilt dat stein in gronen sag
 erlan zu gottes hulde.'

'Und sölt ich leben mit ain jar,
 ain jar mit dieser erde,
 so wölt ich beicht und buos
 erlangen
 und gottes trost erwerlen.'

The great difference between these two lies in the pope's own statement. This is of such importance that for our purposes all other matters contained in these stanzas assume a secondary place and will be secondarily considered. Only in the Danielkenntied does the pope say in as many words that Daniel must burn and further ore why he must burn. Of these six stanzas three should be considered together as a unit.

Ich sende in biechten seer bevrent
 met alle mijnen sime,
 ich nas seven jaer in den berch gheweest
 met vrou Venus die duivelinne.

Hebby seven jaer in den berch gheweest
 met vrou Venus die duivelinne
 so sult ghy bernen ewelick
 al in die helsche pine.

Die paus nam eenen droogen stock
 ende stack hem in die aerde te even:
 wanneer desen stock rosen draecht
 dan sijn uw sonden vergeven.

Daniel's own statement is reiterated by the pope and given as the reason why he must be damned. Not because of sensuality indulged to the full with its consequent spiritual impurity, but because of apos-

tasy, because of his dealings with the devil Daniel must suffer this awful punishment. The poem is consistent. Other versions picture a pope who for some reason which must be inferred and is therefore easily misunderstood condemns the hero of the story.

Ich bin gewesen auch ain jar
 bei Venus ainer fraven,
 nun wilt ich weicht und buesse empfangen
 so ich möcht got anschawen.

Der kapt ist ain steclin in seiner hand
 und das was also curre:
 als wenig das steclin grober mag
 mustu zu gottes hulde.

The reason for Taulhäuser's omission here of any reference to Venus as a devil in his confession to the pope is to be sought in the change which has been made in the original idea of the poem. As a consequence, however, the picture which we get is badly blurred and the perspective of the whole distorted. In the Daniel song that which Daniel has suspected and feared, that which he hurled in his frenzy at Venus, to wit her devilish origin, was proved to be quite as fatal as his worst fears had led him to believe. This fear is the reason why he goes directly to the pope; this the consuming fear which with its dull undertone runs through the Danielkenlied from start to close. To cover up what he is convinced is the truth about his former mistress will gain him nothing, for the facts are still there and he would fain know what are his chances under such circumstances. Therefore his open confession. How much more powerful and pointed:

ich heb seven jaer in den berch gheveest
 met vrou Venus die diivelinne,

than the evasive

Ich bin gewesen auch ain jar
 bei Venus ainer fraven.

It was Helyas, Knight of the Swanee, who, in a Middle English romance was moved with a deep feeling of penitence to take a staff in his hand and depart for to...amende <'is> lyfe and yelde <his> religiyous. 34> He too was commonly reputed to have come from that earthly paradise for which the Venusberg is but a later name. 35> The staff and the pilgrim's painful journey have ever been symbols of great religious devotion or of deep penitence, and our song of Daniel has made masterful use of the device.

He nam eer staf al in sign hand
ende by streec to Romen bidden:

Daniel's fear and devout effort to find relief are here depicted. The two-line prayer which completes the stanza is no less noteworthy:

nu biddic Maria, die moeder gods
dat ick den paus sach vinden.

The desire undermost in his heart is to find the pope, it is his last hope. How finely conceived! Expressing no wish that the pope may be merciful, but with an absolute recognition that what the agent of God's will on earth binds or looses here is the result of divine influence he starts upon his journey. Pleading will avail not at all; but one thing is necessary, that he find the pope and see what God's judgment may be in such a case as his. We have here a much greater consistency than in the other version, where it reads:

Nun far ich frölich auf die bar,
gott well mein irer walten!
zu ainem papst der heist Urban
ob er mich möcht behalten.

34. The Knight of the Swanee, ed. Thoms, Early English Prose Romances vol. 3, page 128 35. cf. chapter The Knight of the Swan

Which is but another attempt to represent Tardhuser's trust in God in spite of the pope's decision, in other words a protestant touch. Within the spirit of the Danielkenlied there is no condemnation of the pope. The later stanza

Versaaledijf moeten die pausen sijn
 Die ons ten hellen driven!
 sie hebben gode so menighe siele ghenomen
 die wel behouden mochten bliven.

together with the next but one represent an element not originally in the song. They are plainly additions which have been engrafted upon the older story.

The second part closes, in the Danielkenlied, with the lines:

Die paus nam eenen droghen stock
 ende stack hem in die aerde beneven:
 wanneer desen stock rosen draecht
 dan sijn ~~sy~~ sonden vercheven.

The interpretation of this stanza as part of a unit formed by it and the two which precede is perfectly apparent. The pope who has so vigorously and so promptly expressed himself on the enormity of the sin and the hopelessness of the sinner's plight, adds, solely by way of emphasizing what he has said, this solemn figure by which the desperate situation is so dreadfully exemplified. Those learned discussions which have seen in this episode of the blooming staff a development of the biblical Aaron's rod must not be considered as having any bearing whatsoever upon this particular feature of the story; the later stanza wherein the staff does bloom is their proper subject, - and that is extraneous to the story itself.

The Danielkenlied says

Die paus nam eenen droghen stock

whereas the other versions have it that:

Vrou Venus die quam hem teken;
secht my, secht my, Daniel fijn
hoe is die reise teleggen?

hoe nu die reise is teleggen,
daer toe is sy so leide,
die paus heeft hi sulken trost
te beven,
ewelick van god te sijn
rescheiden.

Sy sette hem eenen stoel,
daer in so schinc hy sitten
sy haelden hem eenen verrulden
nar
ende wilde Danielken schinken.

hy en wilde eten noch drinken,
sy wilde eenen raet visieren,
hye sy in die camer soude comen
met seven camenieren.

Mer doen sy uter camer quam,
al lachende ende al spelende,
al had sy ewelick bespeelt,
heer Daniel die hadde ghesworen

Mer die di^t liedeken eerstwerf
sanc,
sijn herte lach hem in dolen,
hy was liever in Venus bedwang
dan in helsche scholen.

The low German version has it slightly different:

Danhueser scheyde sick uth der Stadt
mit leyde ~~ut~~ ock mit ruwe,
O Jesu Christ van Hannelrick,
help my nu doerch all myne truwe.

Do hec kwam all vor den bech,
he sach sick wyde umme.
Godt wesegen dy Suenre und Maen
Darto myne leven Fruende.

Danhueser gynck wedder yn den berch,
he waert gar wol entfangen.
Segget uns Danhueser eyn Ridder ydt,
wo hefft ydt yw gefang.

Als ydt my gefangen hefft,
dat hedde ick wol vorswaren.
Hoch byde ick Christus van Hannelrick,
he leth my nicht bli^uen voenralr

und ewillic on ende:
'ich will zu keiner frawen zart,
wa mich Gott will hin senden.'

'Seint Gott willkomen, Danlauser!
Ich hab eur lang en oren;
seint willkom, mein lieber Herr,
zu ainen huolen ausserkoren!'

Do was er widrumb in den berch
und het sein lieb erkoren,
des muoss der vierde papst Urban
auch ewig sein verloren.

All that is to be found in other versions is contained in the song of Heer Daniel. When Daniel comes once more before the mountain of Venus she asks him of his success and the question is essentially the same in all the other songs. But the reply is not. Daniel makes answer:

Uoe nu die reise is chelechen
daer toe is my so leide,
die paus heeft mi sulken trost cheleven,
ewelick van god te sijn gescheiden.

The tone of what is here said is by no means that found in the other Tanhäuserlieder where a corresponding stanza occurs. If we take as an instance for comparison what the low German version gives, the difference becomes at once strikingly apparent:

Als ydt my gerangen hefft,
dat hedd ich wol vorswaren,
Noch bydd ick Christen van Hemmelrick,
he leth my nicht bliken voenralr. 37>

In the first there is no veiled criticism of the pope's decision, no hope expressed that there may yet be some divine intervention to set aside the papal decree and relieve the sinner from the wrath to come. The spirit is quite that which Daniel showed when he started upon his pilgrimage to Rome,- that simple, unquestioning spirit of a loyal medieval catholic which prompted the prayer:

du biddic Maria, die moeder gods
dat ick den paus mach vinden.

In this important particular therefore the Danielkenlied differs from all its fellows,- in its complete acceptance of the pope's word as

final. This is, in truth, characteristic of the entire poem, and it shows a notable absence of anything like those subtle criticisms or little cuts at the moral throne which form so conspicuous a part of the other 16. century songs of Lachhäuser. Whatever the poem contains of a condemnatory nature is, in the first place, isolated in separate stanzas, and in the second, is openly expressed.

The four stanzas which conclude the song of Daniel are without analogues in the other versions. I set it down as my conviction, however, that they serve to round our picture which is elsewhere left altogether incomplete. That Venus sets out a chair for the dejected Daniel and pours out a bowl of wine for him is not the idle prattle of a garrulous story-teller. Daniel refuses food and drink; his plight is too serious and his heart too low. And as he sits there dull and stunned what a picture of the hopeless sinner he presents! Nowhere else that he may go, nothing else that he may do, and the absolute certainty that the fires of hell await him. I think we must grant that the poet has succeeded. I think too that we shall have to admit that this is no non-essential which he has woven into his story. It is important, of the greatest importance in fact, that we be made to realize to the full how serious is Daniel's case and how crushing his punishment, and if we do not see him in the full realization of it there is a grave danger that we too may fail to appreciate it.

But even here the story cannot properly be said to be terminated. What is to become of this condemned knight and why has he returned to the Venusberg? After she has failed to arouse Daniel by ordinary means, Venus offers her highest attraction and only in this way is she able to succeed in restoring him to happiness. I will not say

that she has won him back, for Daniel has been sent back for the mercies of the situation. There is nowhere else to go save to the fires of hell. When the stupefaction which has resulted from his overwhelming disappointment has lifted, but one way lies open. So simple is the choice that it is really no choice at all. He who is damned forever can surely not wish to hasten to that punishment. It were pleasanter to tarry a while amidst the pleasures of Venus' realm even though it was as a result of these very pleasures that he came to his doom. And the situation is filled with deep pathos. That he must again be swept into this maelstrom of sensuality despite his downright contrition, that what was before but an incidental pleasure of this mortal life has been turned into his highest immortal joy is sad enough. The touch of finality comes at Daniel's reawakening to the joys of Venus' abode. Had he not been shown to us so we should have been left in some doubt as to his real fate. All has been fulfilled, however, and the hopeless sinner has run his course. There is no room for hope that there may yet be divine intervention. The concluding stanza gives a terse summary of the situation.

Mer die dit liedeken eerstwerf sanc,
sijn herte lach hem in doler,
hy was liever in Venus' bedwanc
dan in helsche scholen.

The Daniel who fearfully left the Venusberg and hurried to Rome has found his fears confirmed and must settle down to a long span of sensual joy for which he is to pay by an infinitely longer period of torment. What was foreshadowed in the beginning has been realized at the close and the story is complete.

The other versions of the song dismiss the hero at the end with a brief account of his second entrance into the mountain and the

statement that there he must abide to the day of doom.

Danielkeiser (nicht) wird er in den Berg
 'er wartet gar wol erfangen... 38 >

or as another describes it:

Er zoch nun widerumb in den Berg
 und wirklich an ende:
 ich will zu meiner fraven zart,
 wo ich tot' will hin senden... 39 >

Now Tarhäuser has already been reminded to tell and the inconsistency of stating he is to remain in the mountain forever is obvious. The concluding scene has, in most versions, suffered as much from neglect as has the opening from overattention.

The story given by the Danielkenlied is complete, well-balanced and shows evidence of a purpose. So much has, I think, been made apparent from the comparison which we have made. This character of the song of Daniel will become still clearer, however, if we understand what was the purpose of the song, and many points of a seemingly contradictory nature will thereby be cleared away.

The story must have been originated, as Elster has seen, 40 > by some one in full sympathy with the church of Rome, perhaps even a member of the clergy. Its theme was the absolute hopelessness of one who had any dealings with Venus and the Verusherg, that is to say with the heathen paradise. Its purpose was to warn the children of the church against such a belief as the Verusherg. The history of the Grail shows how deeply rooted and how ancient was this belief in an abode of supreme and perfect physical enjoyment somewhere on this earth or beyond. As long as Christianity was not there to frown upon

38. Grässe, op. cit., page 49

39. *ibid.*, page 44

40. Tarhäuser in Geschichte, Sage und Dichtung, page 6 ff.

it the belief flourished openly and the spot was thought to be one by which any man might well hope to come. But with the advent of Christianity this place could no longer be openly believed in, and secretly therefore it was held that it was hidden, inaccessible and underground abode such a paradise existed and that it was a sort of happy realm, but which spiritually was, rather to men's souls. The remarkable popularity enjoyed by the Völsung and its part-runner the Grail is evidence that this must have been the state of affairs among Germanic peoples. It was impossible for a new religion to wipe out a belief which rose from the very well-being of physical life and I doubt whether more than the slightest headway was made against it until a greater civilization showed the absurdity of such a belief and turned it in a different direction. The Tannhäuser story of the folk-song is an open acknowledgment that this idea of a leather paradise was far too popular to please the church. Against that belief the pope was armed; it's moral, that one who entered this paradise was guilty of a sin so enormous that he could never hope for forgiveness here or hereafter. The tenor of the Danielken Lied is exactly this, aside from the two stanzas aimed at the pope. As a matter of fact the pope is really helpless in every version of the folk-song, forced by the situation to pronounce a judgment not his own. In the Danielken Lied this inevitability, which the other versions with their anti-papal spirit conceal, is openly expressed, for the pope there tells the reason for his judgment.

Heldt' seven jact in den wunden Gievest
 Het' vrou Venus die duivelin
 so sul' gly lerner e elick
 al in die helische line.

The league with the devil, the consequent denial of God, this is the

source of Daniel's fate. A point that particularly lay heavy on his mind at that time was especially active, for the place where the great German devotee was left to do his Christian work and that he held in check. In the same spirit the Faust Book is to be read of those who would not turn for temporal happiness have dealings with the devil. Nor will it do to argue that according to catholic doctrine no sin is so great that it may not be forgiven a penitent. In the background of all our thinking on these matters there is always present a lurking belief that perhaps there is a sin which is unpardonable. That belief goes back, of course, to the words in the Scriptures:

All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.

41 >

The nature of Daniel's sin is such as to suggest that if powerfully comes under this head, it is apostasy, the denial of the Holy Ghost. The penitential attitude in which he approaches his wife cannot help him there; so runs the argument. Faust too was repentant and under such the same circumstances, - when the pleasures were past and he saw the dangers of hell staring him in the face. But Faust was not forgiven. I am not arguing for the rightness or the wrongness of the view, but merely insisting that such it was. We must remember also that the Tannhäuser song is a satire, and in sending home a lesson so important the preacher could easily have been betrayed into forgetting a point so fine as this, that to sin is absolutely unpardonable. The plot of story, whatever its initial form, was designed

to teach the pagans the world's ways, which is indeed a visit to the
 weather paradise, and therefore an so-called is a visit to the
 No star was intended against the pope. His place in the story is
 solely to give impressiveness. Why should Tannhäuser be driven to
 the pope with his sin, and not to the latter as a member of the church?
 Even because the poet would have to have the papacy as an end,
 and because the pope's refusal is final, for he is Heaven's highest
 earthly representative. It was said of the first pope:

Whosoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in
 heaven: and whosoever thou shalt loose on earth shall
 be loosed in heaven.

42 >

The Darstellung, when the two stanzas to which I have previously
 referred are omitted, gives just this impression. There is not the
 slightest trace of questioning or of doubt on the part of Danker.
 There is no rebuke aimed at the pope, no suggestion that Heaven may
 interfere. Yet the other versions are permeated with this spirit,
 when Danker leaves the pope he says in one:

and sölt ich leben nun am jar,
 am jar am geseit crach,
 so wölt ich solent und muosch erlain
 und geseit trost erlesen.

43 >

That is to say, despite what the pope has said him Tannhäuser states
 that were he to live another year upon this earth he would still
 hope for pardon. The stanza is in a way helpless enough, for it
 shows the hero's intention not to remain upon this earth, but to re-

turn to that happy other-world, the Verdammte, and spoils the force of his true repentance which the poem has previously labored to give. But when we are dealing with additions we must look for clarity for logical connection and perfect consistency. The stanza is designed simply to express a lack of faith in the truth of the pope's acc. story. The short space of a year would suffice to show its falsity. A more modern version has made the stanza even more clear:

Sagt den Leuten nicht noch dem alten Jähr,
Ein Jahr darf nicht Brauch,
So weit ich Re. und Bism. Empfin.
Und Gottes Gnade einsehen. 44 >

Hence then these protestant elements, for they can be explained for nothing else? One has only to read the Darstellung to understand how they creep in. To one who has not the viewpoint of the faithful, who is not inclined to sympathy with the church and its doctrines the first thought which suggests itself is that the pope is harsh and unforgiving. The protestant with his more liberal views of mercy, and above all with his scorn for that mediation between God and man represented by the papal power would be sure to place such an interpretation upon the song in its original form. Tanhäuser leaves the mountain in fearful contrition and goes to the pope, but cannot be forgiven and must return to the mountain. From this older form to the newer in which the essential difference is that he is not forgiven was a very easy step. That step once taken the other minor changes to make the anti-papal attitude even more evident came easily enough. To the opponents of the church the story afforded an excellent document. The pope no longer gave his reason and this was in

itself a good rendering of the older form, and by one of the stanzas were added which lent him the villainous character. Tannhäuser's underlying goodness is destroyed by the contrast of evil to heaven and the Virgin and his denial of an oath to Venus. The proportions of the story are changed. It is no longer a Tannhäuser song, but a song against popery. The powerful figure of the staff which was at first used to symbolize the hopelessness of the cure, was finally turned in quite a different direction by being made to slay, and out of his own mouth the pope was condemned, and the whole topped off by an openly expressed curse upon his papal majesty. So far was this spirit carried that in the song of Daniel the curse extended to all popes.

Vermaledigt seyen die papen sijn
 Als ons ter hellen driven!
 Al hebben gode so konighe siele ghenomen
 Als wel sonnen monten sijn.

In the Danienkronica this stanza is not spoken by Daniel at all, but is plainly an interpolation of the poet's making. This Mr. Remy has overlooked. 45 > In the Low German version it has been further incorporated into the song and reads:

Verruocet sijn die papen papen,
 Als sy ons der helle schryven,
 Se wyllen Gode eyne ssele berouen,
 Als wel moechte sonnen wlyten. 46 >

This sort of a curse is also found in Heinrich Wittenweller's Ring, this time directed against Venus herself:

Fro Venus lit arf in bösen rat,
 Die oit en sei verdampt hat. 47 >

45. op. cit., page 75 46. Gräbe, op. cit., page 48
 47. Stut. Lit. Ver., vol. 23, page 34

Here the spirit is in accord with that of the Danielkenlied: -- as Venus, the devil, who because she is a devil, makes is spiritually dangerous for those who deal with her.

Conclusions. From our study of the 18. century folk-songs three facts are deducible. First, the Danielkenlied is itself the oldest of the Volkslieder which we have. In the second place the story which it tells is the most primitive of all the versions. The name of the hero, therefore, was Daniel before it became Tannhäuser.

The song of Daniel is itself the oldest of the Volkslieder concerning the Venusberg. It is simple in its narration and direct in its method. This alone is a powerful argument for the relatively greater age of the poem. Stories do not grow simpler with repetition but more and more complex and detailed. They pick up suggestions from here, there and yonder and incorporate these for the sake of the freshness and variety thus to be attained. In addition to its simplicity the Danielkenlied is purposeful. The reader is never in doubt that the song has been written for a reason and this reason is never lost to his view. This is after all but another way of saying that the poem is simple and direct, for when a story is not told merely for its own sake it is sure to proceed directly. It is true that all the Tannhäuserlieder show unmistakably that they were composed for a purpose, but the manifest additions, often of a nature more or less contradictory to the main end in view and always unnecessary to attaining that end, indicate that these songs have undergone a process of change through which the Danielkenlied has not passed. The song of Daniel is also consistent. Directness, purpose-

fairness, consistency are other qualities more or less naturally dependent. Inconsistencies are most likely to creep into a story when the point of view is temporarily lost and the purpose of the story forgotten. Complexity fosters inconsistency, and complexity is the result of repetition. But the song Van Hier Danielken not only gives clear evidence of proceeding towards some definite end, that end itself is plain to see. The purpose for which the Danielkenlied was composed is, moreover, characteristic of an older rather than a more recent poem. It is not reasonable to suppose that such a song as the Tanhauserlied came all at once into being as the product of a single effort. At bottom it has a piece of folk-lore for its basis and from this the story has grown. When the song started, either as song or simple tale, open opposition to the church of Rome was not a common thing, particularly among the people. There were, to be sure, struggles between church and state, but the church was still the one great religious fact. It is, therefore, a strong argument for the priority of the Danielkenlied that its real purpose is so evidently in sympathy with the church and not in opposition thereto. This is the natural starting-point in the growth of such a piece of folk-lore and from this point the additions and changes gradually made until its modern form was attained can be understood.

The story of the Danielkenlied is the most primitive. The folk-song has doubtless some earlier myth as its basis, and nearest to this myth stands the story told in the story of Daniel. Of this we have good evidence enough. The completely anti-papal spirit of the usual 16. century Tanhauserlied is evidently the spirit the song possessed throughout most, if not all, of the 15. century. Faber

says he knows of a song of Tanhäuser, 48 > and then outlines what must have been the usual Tanhäuser story. He wrote but twenty-five years before these songs began to come into print, and it would be reasonable to suppose that they had been in circulation even longer than that. The song is of Danhäuser, not of Daniel and is evidently of an unforgiving pope, for Faber simply says absolution was denied the knight. Had there been extenuating circumstances for the pope's refusal, in the song he knew, the good Faber would surely not have omitted them. That such was the story as Faber knew it is further attested by the fact he is bounded on both sides by witnesses to just such a story. As twenty-five years after him the folk-song came into print, so some forty years before him we have de la Sale's account. In the Salade the hero is not mentioned by name, but he is a German, and is visiting a Venusberg in Italy, quite as in Faber's account. 49 > The pope is overjoyed at the sinner's repentance but does not show it, wishing to test him. The hero is discouraged and returns into the mountain and can never be found by the pope's envoys. Now this is only the Tanhäuser story of the 16. century with the pope excused for his refusal, and the excuse results from de la Sale's scruples. He was an Italian, and there the anti-papal spirit was always least in evidence. 50 > As far back as 1440 therefore our modern Tanhäuser song with its anti-papal spirit must have existed. This means that the story of the Danielikenlied represents a version prior to this time. Earlier than de la Sale there is only the story of

48. Evagatorium, Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 4, 180a 49. ed. Söderhjelm, Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique à Helsingfors, II, page 118 ff. 50. Paris, Légendes du Moyen Âge, page 135

Andrea da Barbarino. 51> I have shown elsewhere that his account is made from materials borrowed from the German. 52> It has been long admitted that what he tells of the pious Guerinio is simply a reflex of the Tannhäuser story. 53> That is to say, Guerinio enters the Sibyl's mountain, withs and her charms, comes out again and because of the nature of the place in which he has been feels the need of going to the pope, who because of the object of his visit to the mount and his resistance to temptation, promptly and fully absolves him. This is nearer our Daniel story. The pope assigns his reason for refusing absolution in the Danielkenlied; in the Guerinio he assigns his reason for giving absolution. 54> In the other versions of the Tannhäuserlied he does not. This would indicate, at least, that the story from which Barbarino drew was not anti-papal, for when the pope gives his reason the story is drawn from the Tannhäuser song.

The name of Daniel must antedate that of Tannhäuser in the myth. Such would follow from the evidently greater antiquity of the story told in the Danielkenlied. 55> We know of Tannhäuser only in connection with accounts of the harsh pope. Daniel apparently existed in connection with what must have been an earlier form. It is safe to assume that the name is one with the song. A poem which shows so little alteration and is so evidently older than its fellows may properly be regarded as not liable to such a change as that of the name of its hero. And in conclusion it may be said that there seems to be good reason why Daniel should be the leading character of the folk-song, whereas there is none for Tannhäuser's occupying that position. Who then is Daniel?

51. Guerinio, Part V
op. cit., page 91
page 6 ff.

52. cf. chapter on Verdsherg
54. op. cit., V, cap. 17

53. Paris,
55. Flower, op. cit.

DANIEL.

There is but one Daniel from medieval romance literature in Germany who offers the slightest suggestion of similarity to the hero of the folk-song. The biblical character, although a frequent enough figure in works of that time, is not to be considered in this connection. This one is Daniel von dem blühenden Tal, the hero of the Stricker's poem by that name. The numerous points of connection between this romance and the folk-song would doubtless have been noticed before were it not for the fact that the poem was not brought out of manuscript until 1894 by Rosenhagen and thus made accessible for careful study. The text itself is indispensable for a right understanding of the poem; the painstaking outline of the Daniel given by Bartsch in his preface to the Stricker's Karl der Grosse is entirely useless for such a purpose as ours, and so, despite the early date at which it appeared 1857 it has inspired no activity along this line of investigation. We turn to a consideration of the poem itself.

Daniel von dem blühenden Tal was written about the middle of the 13. century. It was a popular poem and its fame prolonged itself beyond the span of two centuries. That is to say, in 1450 it was still greatly in evidence. There are two weighty pieces of proof adduceable to confirm the point. In the first place the Daniel is the object of comment and allusion in later works by other poets.

Rudolf von Ems - died about 1250 - mentions the name < see Alteutsche-
es Lesebuch, 787, 16 >. Meister Altswert's Spierel < Stutt. Lit. Ver.
vol. 21, page 164 > says:

Reht als den konic Matter
Was mir myn hertz versnytten,
Do in hett uberstritten
Von Blumendal herr Danyel.

Altswert wrote about 1450. The feature of the story which had most impressed itself upon him is shown by these lines. The poem was one of the mightiest of its time in its descriptions of blood and adventure and this in itself was enough to insure its popularity with a medieval audience. Broad and plain but not deep it made an appeal to all qualities of intelligence as a thing at once blood-stirring and easily comprehensible. None of the depth and refinement of a Parzival are here.

In the same manuscript with the Lohengrin there is in the Vatican library in Rome a poem named Friedrich von Schwaben. < see Hagen und Busching, Grundriss, page 188 > Therein is contained another reference to the Daniel:

Was ye die höche und die werde
All bye uff dyser erde < an >
Kunic Artus gesellschafft
Mit rytterlicher krafft
Von der edlen taffelrunde
Not gelitten zu maniger stunde
Durch liebün starck,
Und wie denn verhouwen ist ir marck,
Partzifal, Perefen, Erekun und Grawein,
Lantzeleid, Weisamur, Tristrant und Iwein,
Wyrtleis oder her Daniel,

Daniel is therefore numbered among the most famous and doughty of Arthur's knights, which means that in the popular mind he was associated with Arthur and his greatest, occupying a large place in the imagination of the day. This poem is from the 14. century. A

poem which could keep alive its interest through one century after another as has the Daniel must have been popular.

The manuscripts establish the same fact. Daniel von den blühenden Tal exists in three, the one in München, a second in Dresden and the third in Copenhagen. The diversity of location is not to be disregarded. From the extreme North to the farthest South these manuscripts are spread, and this can be but a skeleton, for more doubtless existed of which we now have no record. The Daniel is therefore widely distributed temporally and geographically. But it is even more interesting to see with what other poems this of Stricker's is keeping company in the few manuscripts which have come down to us. In that of München it stands with the Rosengarten, one of the most popular and widely known poems of the middle ages. First comes the Daniel in this manuscript, followed by the Rosengarten. The order is the same in the Dresden manuscript, where again these two are found together. Whoever copied them must have been impressed with the worth and popularity of the Daniel to give it such a companion: both are copied by the same hand. Hagen and Bischoff's Grundriss, from which all these facts are taken, explains the coincidence that these two manuscripts have the same two poems in the order thus:

Auch hier <in the Dresden ms.> steht diesz Gedicht <der Rosengarten> hinter den Daniel v. Bl. von derselben Hand, und beide...stimmen, <was nicht leicht vorkommt> fast wörtlich, ja buchstäblich uberein: so dasz sicher nur eine von der andern abgeschrieben

The Copenhagen manuscript contains the Daniel in company with Melusina and the Mörrin. Two more generally known poems it would be hard to find out of that day, - and their presence on either side of Daniel marks the latter as also a well known work.

Down to the time when we first hear of the Tanhäuser song, therefore, Daniel von dem blühenden Tal was a live and flourishing romance, - a much loved member of the Arthurian cycle.

The poet told the story of Daniel to entertain a medieval audience with an account of marvellous adventure and tremendous battle, and he chose Arthur and his knights as best suited to play the leading roles in such a tale. For the problem we are considering, however, all this is of no concern. But woven into the fabric of the romance are certain threads of folk-lore, which are important for our question although for the poet they are entirely subordinate and often considerably transformed. It becomes necessary, therefore, to separate these partially concealed strands for careful examination and comparison in order that we may see what the popular contemporary traditions were which lie thus in the background of this story.

Two such traditions have been incorporated into the Daniel. The first is that of the hollow-mountain paradise, and the second, Arthur's connection with such a place. It will be unnecessary to recount the whole story of Daniel here. The two episodes of the Griene Ouwe and Cluse contain all that is of moment for the present discussion.

The Griene Ouwe is obviously based upon the idea of a hollow-mountain abode. 1 > The entrance is closed by a huge rock. 2 > Farther within is a dreadful gate. 3 > A water-fall also helps guard the opening. 4 > A maiden and a net give additional protection a-

1. Stricker, Daniel von dem blühenden Tal, ed. Rosenhagen, 1. 4109 ff.
 2. ibid., 2482-4 3. ibid., 4126-7 4. ibid., 2499-2504

gainst invasion. 5 > Upon entering Daniel finds a sort of royal court and the events in which he is concerned take place apparently inside the mountain. The maiden tells him the land over which her father formerly ruled is two leagues wide and so situated that entrance may be had only through the mountain.

diz lant lît einhalb an dem mer,
und ist dâ engegen alsô guot,
daz uns nieman niht entuot:
anderhalb stât dirre berc dâvor.
swenn wir besliezen daz tor,
sô entaete uns nieman dehein leit.
diz lant ist zweier mîle breit
und heizet zer Grünen Ouwe. 6 >

In former times, she says, this was a happy land and her father a most generous monarch. 7 > So generous in fact that he had set out before the hill a tent wherein were tables upon which the best of food was daily renewed for the benefit of such as might pass that way.

er hiez machen daz gezelt
für den berc an daz velt
und lêhende die darzuo,
die beidiu spâte und fruo
ein tavele darinne ze prîse
berihtent mit der spîse,
diu danne hoert ze dem tage;
swen sîn wec dâfur trage,
ob er ezzen geruoche,
daz er e's dâ suoche,
und ez ouch dâ vinde gereit.
ez ist alsô ûfgeleit,
swelhiu spîse den tac darinne stât,
unz diu naht ane gât,
die nimt man dan alle gar
unde treit ander dar;
diu stât dâ, unz ez wil tagen:
sô wirt ander dar getragen. 8 >

This was the tent to which Daniel and his companion in arms had come and wondered at the food, but more especially at the absence of attendants and the mystery which prevailed.

Dô sie des berges wurden gewar,
 dannoch hâten sie dar
 zwô vil grôze mîle.
 in einer kurzen wîle
 quâmen sie an ein velt.
 dâ was geslagen ein zelt
 vor dem berc an einem grase.
 dâ was der schoeneste wase,
 den ieman kunde finden.
 ûf einer grünen linden
 was dâ schoener vogelgesanc.
 darunder ein kalter brunnen entspranc,
 lûter und ouch reine.
 ein troc von marmelsteine
 gezieret ûz der mâzen wol,
 der stuont darunder des wazzers vol...
 in daz gezelt gie er zehant
 und vant darinne wîp noch man;
 swaz man aber genennen kan,
 des man ezzen und trinken sol,
 des tuont ein tavel dâ vol.
 her Daniel sach umbe sich.
 daz gezelt was sô wunneclîch
 gemâlt und geschriben,
 daz er dâ gerne waere bliben,
 unz er enbizzen waere.
 nû vorht er, daz ein maere
 vil lîhte erwante sîn vart,
 sam er dâvor erwendet wart...
 nû vant er spîse genuoc
 ûf der tavel in dem gezelte...
 wider sich selben er dô sprach:...
 sie müezen ouch mich besehen lân,
 wiez in dem berge sî getân...
 dô sach er vier junge man
 gegen dem gezelte komen.
 die hâten ûf sich genomen
 fleisch, brôt und wîn.
 swaz spîse solde sîn,
 der einen kûnec genuogte,...
 des brâhten sie mit in ein teil...
 er gruozte sie alle viere.
 sie tâten im vil schiere
 gezogenlîche widergelt
 und giengen in daz gezelt.
 nû sie darin quâmen,
 die spîse sie alle nâmen
 von der tavelen gar
 und sazten dise dar,
 die sie dâ brâhten mit in...
 Daniel bat sie stille stân.
 'Waz werbet ir hie?' sprach er.
 'Dâ tragen wir dise spîse her.'
 'Wer sol sie aber ezzen hie?'
 'Swer sie suochet' sprâchen sie.

'Wer hât sie danne her gesant?'
 'Der herre ist über diz lant.'
 'Kont er selbe her iht?'
 'Lîhte komt er, lîhte niht.

9>

The entrance to this mountain of the Gruene Ouwe is of particular importance. It tallies closely with entrances to love mountains found elsewhere described. Andrea da Barbarino tells how over fearfully difficult rocks, more on his hands than on his feet his hero started into the Sibyl's mountain. He tells also that further in Guerino came to a great gate which gave immediate entrance into the love realm.

Il camminarvi sopra parvegli poi alquanto difficilissimo, a motivo dei sassi e delle pietre, che sotto il piede e di tratto in tratto sdrucchiolavano, facendolo scivolare ad ogni passo, col pericolo di precipitar giù nel profondo di quei burroni...E partitosi il Guerrino da lui, andò ancora innanzi e tosto trovò una porta di metallo la quale da ogni lato avea scolpito una figura di Demonio che pareva viva, tanto terribile n' era l' aspetto!

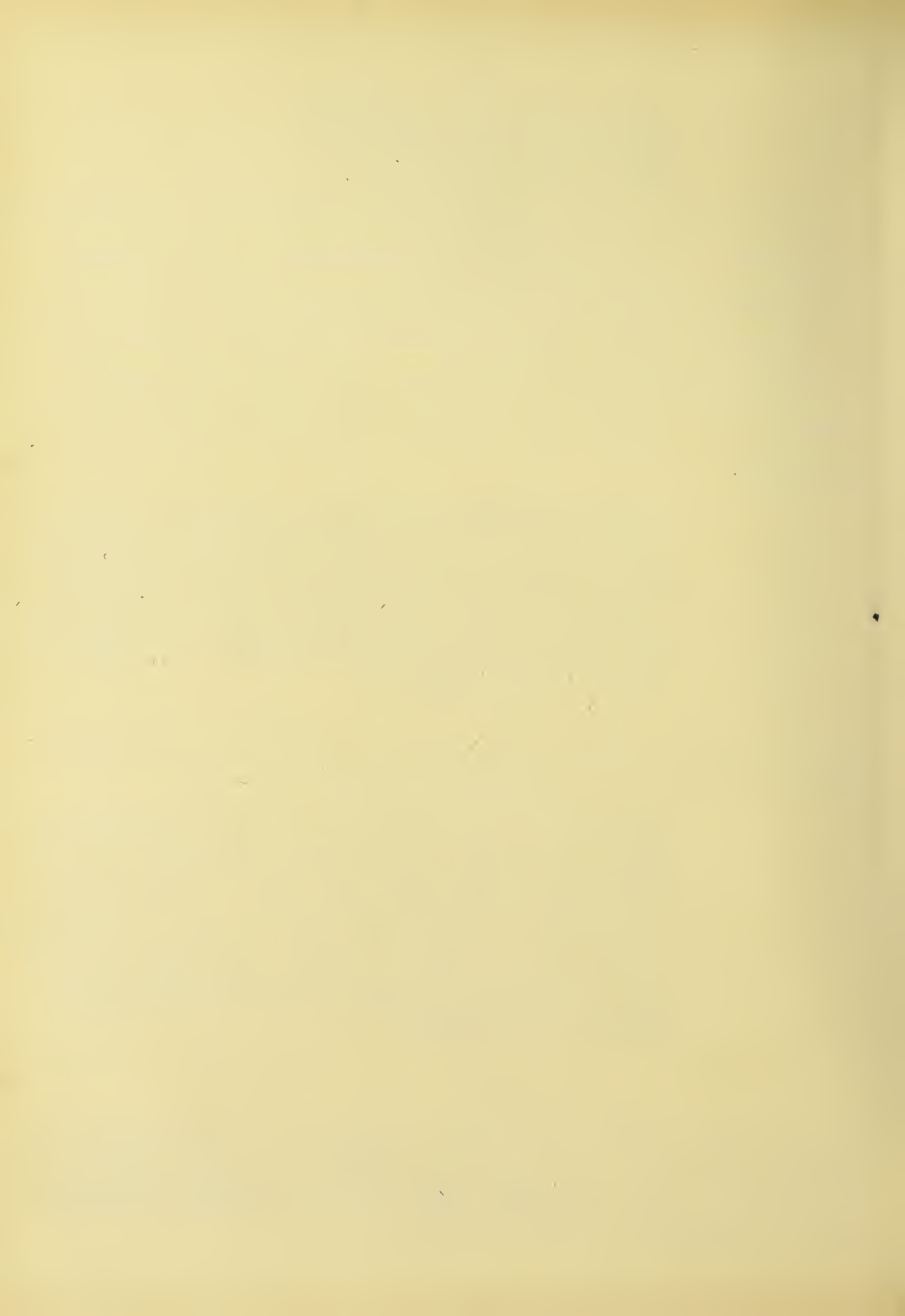
10>

De la Sale has an account of an adventurer who had a similar experience but on his way in encountered a great water-fall.

Dessous ce pont a tresgrant et hideux abisme de profondeur et au sons oist on une tresgrosse riviere qui fait ung tel bruit que il semble proprement de point en point que tout cela fonde, tant en est la hideur merveilleuse. Mais aussy tost que on a les deux piez sur le pont, il est assez large et tant va on plus avant et plus est large et mains creux et le bruit de l' eae se oist mains, et quant on a passé outtre le pont on commence a trouver le chemin tout plain et large et la cave est faicte come se elle estoit faicte artificialement, ...

11>

9. *ibid.* 2393 - 2638 10. Andrea da Barbarino, Guerrino detto il Meschino <popular ed. publ. by Adriano Salani, Firenze, 1905>, Part V, chapters 6 & 7 11. Antoine de La Sale, La Salade, <Du mont de la Sibille>, after Söderhjelm, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique a Helsingfors II, 1897, pages 116, 117



The land of Venus in Sachsenheim's Mörin is also inaccessible:

...das allerschoenest lant,
Darumb das wallent mer mit sant
Begriffen was in inseln wiss.
Ich wond, es wer das paradiss,
Da ich erwacht und umm nich sach. 12 >

In Der Tugenden Schatz of Altswert the Venusberg is guarded by a tremendous rock.

Die port was mit kunst vermacht,
Daz sin kein man mocht nemen acht.
Ez liez ein vels vallen für,
Hundert fuoder swer für die tür. 13 >

The maiden and her net are merely a changed form of the guardian of the love-mountain. The most familiar figure is that of Eckart who sits before the Venusberg.

It is also supposed that the trusty Eckart is still in front of dame fenus mount and is to stay there to the crack of doom and that he warns all who wish to enter. 14 >

In Barbarino's and de la Sale's accounts he has been replaced by the people of the locality, who warn the hero desiring to enter the place. 15 > By this means, of course, more local color and a greater semblance of reality are gained. Those just within the great inner gate to ask who is there occupy the same position. In the Magdeburg Chronik we read that the visitors from neighboring cities to the Gralfest would not enter the place until the knights of the city had ridden out to meet them in joust.

Do se vor disse stad quemen, se wolden nicht inriden,
men entpfeng se mit suste und dustiren. dat geschach.
twe kunstabele togen ut und bestunden de und entfengen
se mit den speren. 16 >

12. Hermann von Sachsenheim, Diu Mörin, ed. Stutt. Lit. Ver., vol. 137, lines 177 - 181 13. Meister Altswert, Der Tugenden Schatz, ibid., vol. 21, page 78, lines 6 - 9 14. Das Deutsche Heldenbuch, ibid., vol. 87, page 11 15. op. cit., Part V, Chapter 2: op. cit., pages 115, 116 16. Chroniken der deutschen Städte, vol. VII, page 169

We have here merely a survival of the old idea that the entrance to this paradise was guarded against intrusion. The kunstabele stand in place of Eckart or a dwarf or giant of other accounts. Caesarius von Heisterbach has a senex homo:

Cui homo senex occurrens ait...In monte Gyber; ibi eum habet dominus meus Rex Arcturus.

17 >

In Gervase of Tilbury, who tells a similar story, no messenger leads the bishop's servant to Arthur, just as Arthur is here not in but on the mountain. 18 > The two touches of the guardian and the hollow mountain shown by Heisterbach in contrast with Tilbury are essentials of the Germanic love-mountain idea. Meister Altswert has a dwarf before his Venusberg.

Da vor stuond ein zwerg, was clein,
Ez was geweltig berg und tal,
Des berg gedoz gap widerhal,
Wan er was inwendig hol.

19 >

Sachsenheim's Mörin shows both old man and dwarf who lead the poet to the land of Venus.

Da vor do stuond ain man, was graw,
Mit ainem schönen, langen bart,
Als ob er wear der Eckhart,
Von dem man sagt, in Venusbergk.
By im da stuond ain klaines zwergk.

20 >

Large courts revelled within these love mountains. The Wartburgkrieg has Arthur's massenie and all its joys in such a place. 21 > Heisterbach says that Arthur's curia is in monte Gyber. 22 > Sach-

17. Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. Strange, XII, XII 18. Gervasius von Tilbury, Otia Imperialia, ed. Liebrecht, pages 12, 13 19. op. cit., page 77, lines 30 - 33
20. op. cit., lines 26 - 30 21. Der Wartburgkrieg, ed. Simrock, stanzas 83 - 87 22. op. cit., XII, XII

senheim describes the Venusberg:

Der schriber der was wolgemuot
 Und sagt uns vil der fremde mer,
 Was wanders in den landen wer,
 Besunder in fro^wVenus berg,
 Von frouwen, rit^{ern}, junckfrow, zwerg
 Und manger hande kurczwil vil
 Mit singen, sagen, saitenspiel,
 Besunnen, pffiffen mangerlay
 Er sagt uns ouch, wie das der may
 Zuo aller zytt im berge wer,
 Wang zierlichkait von golde swer,
 Gestain und berlu manigvalt.
 'Swig, suifficit' sprach Eckhart alt.
 'Sin ist genuog: du waist doch wol
 Das yederman nit wissen sol,
 Was wanders in dem berge sy.
 All maister der philosophy
 Das wunder nitt gemessen kann.'

23 >

Dietrich a Niem's mountain of the Grail is still another instance of the same idea:

Ad quattuor miliaria prope cernitur mons sanctae Barbarae in plano campo eminens et rotundus, quem delusi multi Alemanni in vulgari appellant der Gral, asserentes prout etiam in illis regionibus plerique autumant, quod in illo multi sunt homines vivi et victuri usque ad diem iudicii, qui tripudiis et deliciis sunt dediti, et ludibriis deabolicis perpetuo irretiti.

24 >

The imagination of earlier Germanic times conceived of such things wholly within the hollow-mountain paradise. The Italians, who borrowed from this conception, picture the same kind of thing within the Sibyl's mount. But Sachsenheim and Altswert have beside the mountain a plain, and Tilbury likewise has removed Arthur out of Tiber to a spacious plain.

arctissima semita sed plana est inventa; puer in spatiosissimam planitiem jucundam omnibusque deliciis plenam venit, ibique in palatio miro opere constructo reperit Arcturum in strato regii apparatus recubantem.

25 >

23. op. cit., lines 3900 - 3917 24. Dietrich a Niem, De Schismate <after Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum, III, under Gral>

25. op. cit., page 12

Here the silken tents are spread and the revels take place. In Der Tugenden Schatz the hero first enters the Venusberg, only to go out upon the plain where the real events of the story take place their course.

Du solt mit mir gen in den berg,
 So sichstu wunderlich werc
 Von menger schöner zierheit.
 Wiltu, ich gib dir ein cleit,
 Daz ist halb gruen, ander sit rot,
 Ez ist din, wol ez an dir stat,
 Zuo kurz noch zuo lang ist ez dir,
 Ez komt dir recht, geloub mir!...
 Uf die Wort gieng ich mit in.
 Daz zwerg sprach ein wort mit grim
 Zuo eim velsen, der was groz,
 Daz sich der berg uf sloz...
 Der clein nam nich bi der hant,
 Er fuort mich in eins steins want
 Durch die porte, der berg was hol...
 Der berg was vol edeler stein
 Bed groz und da bi clein...
 Daz zwerg sprach: Sich umb dich,
 Jeglich person sin kamern hat,
 Zwei hundert neben ein ander stat,
 Die sint der hofgesinde...
 Von minen cleidern ich mich schiet,
 Ich tet an die cleider geswind.
 Ez sprach: Nun bistu hofgesind
 Zweier hoher keiserin,...
 ...Ein heizet frau Venus,...
 Dirre berg was fro Venus allein,...
 Ez fuort mich langes durch den sal,
 Der was gebuwen über al
 Von gold und von edelm gestein...
 In dem sal lützel liutes was,
 Für war suln ir gelouben daz.
 Sie waren gangen uf den plan,
 Der was gar wünneclich getan
 Von boumen und ouch von blüete.
 Ach got, durch all din guete,
 Wie was so herlich tanzen do!...
 Glich eim irdischen himelrich,...
 Daz zwerg sprach zuo mir: Gang fürbaz
 Uz diesem berge in daz graz!
 Ich tet do, daz ez mir gebot.
 Do sach ich manig mündlin rot...
 Loup, baum, gras stat in richer wat,...
 Als himelbrot, das ducht nich,
 Smackt daz obz, daz ist war;
 Glich dem paradis, daz ist sonder var,
 Was der gart gesmackes vol,...

Wip und man was glich vil...
 Zwei begunden kosen,...
 Zwei wolten in bluomen vallen,
 Zwei spilten uber fuezelin,...
 Zwei spilten bein uber bein...
 Zwei spilten blinder muosen,...
 Zwei begunden zuosamen rucken...
 Ich wen, man far durch al lant,
 Man vint den schimpf uf erden niht,
 Als ich mich mit worten han vergiht...
 Fur ein warheit sult ir wizzen dan,
 Daz daz gezelt^{gar} lieht erschein...
 Wie seil waren gruen siden...
 Ir waren zweinzig oder ne...

26 >

In the Mörin we are not shown the Venusberg; everything happens upon a plain. 27 > The same combination of mountain and plain exists in Stricker's Daniel. The old Germanic idea of a realm within a hill shows in these instances a further development in the direction of greater realism. When the poet invents a plain close at hand, he confesses that to him the interior of a mountain seems too restricted a space for such large events. He feels the need of a larger stage, and takes this means of providing it. Sunshine, trees, grass, tents, all these things do not fit with the darkness of a hollow mountain. Altswert's Venusberg is lit by an unnatural light, the red light of rubies and carbuncles.

Die nacht wart nie so tunkel,
 Der rubin und der karfunkel
 Erluhten den berg iberall

28 >

It partakes more of the nature of an underground castle. All the brightness and joy which the Wartburgkrieg, Niem and Sachsenheim have depicted within the mountain has here been removed to a plain outside. Sachsenheim's brief description of the Venusberg is not his but a bit of folk-lore. 29 > He himself like Altswert has attempted to make the entire description more probable, and, side by side with the pop-

26. op. cit., pages 79 - 92 27. op. cit., line 177 ff.

28. op. cit., page 80 29. op. cit., line 3900 ff.

ular account of the hollow mountain which he has incorporated into the poem, he has represented as taking place upon a plain the events which had earlier been conceived only as within. So too in the Daniel. Stricker is troubled by the small space at his disposal within a hill. He thus describes Daniel's entrance with the maiden:

Er folgte der strâzen in den berc,...
 Er begunde für sich gân,
 unz des weges ein ende wart.
 nû was diu strâze bespart
 mit einem freislichen tor.
 dâ stuont ein kleinez netze vor,...
 des wart ein juncfrou gewar,
 diu hâte daz netze gesetzet dar,...
 ûz den netze siu in want
 unde nam in bi der hant,
 si fuort in in einen hollen stein,
 der stuont dâ nâhe bê in zwein.
 dâ was inne guot gemach,
 wan daz er nieman gesach,
 wan die juncfroun unde sich.
 ez dûhte in harte wunderlich,...
 diu frouwe hiez in zehant
 über ein tavelen sitzen gân,
 die sach er dâ gerihte stân...
 dâ was spise genuoc;

30 >

A cramped enough situation! He fails utterly to make it clear whether the events which follow occur in the mountain or on the plain behind. In other words, having provided the plain he uses it as a sort of overflow ground upon which the imagination may spread out at will if it feels itself too restricted by the mountain walls. The whole device is, of course, more ingenious than poetic. The same idea of the love mountain, however, lies back of Stricker's land of the Grüne Ouwe as is found in Altswert, Sachsenheim and Tilbury.

The country of the Grüne Ouwe was a land of joy before the present incubus settled upon it in the form of the bloodthirsty devil.

mîn vater der was herre hie;
 der was ein sô hövesch man,
 daz er nie sô liebes niht gewan,

âne mîn muoter, sîn wîp,
 und âne sîn selbes lîp,
 swer es haete gegeret,
 er haete es in zehant gewert.
 Er hiez machen daz gezelt
 für den berc an das velt...
 Dô sô manic hövescheit
 von rînem yater wart geseit,
 des quam dâher ein merwîp;...
 bî ir lîbe si swuor,
 ez waere allez samet wâr,
 daz ir nû vil manic jâr
 von im gesaget waere...
 sin gesache nie man baz volkomen
 âne den kunec Artûs,
 dem enkunde mit dem hûs
 nieman sich gelîchen

31>

Accompanying the idea of generosity is that of the great plenty in which this monarch lived, and the method of description reminds us strongly of the Grail castle. There also, great plenty prevailed and there too was such a table. 32> In Türlin's Krone is an account of how Gawein comes one night to a house and there finds a table of this kind but no one about. He remains over night and as he is riding over the draw-bridge next morning a sweet feminine voice calls to him, but the bridge swings up and he sees no more. This can be nothing else than a working over of the usual account of Parzival's first visit to the Grail castle, for the purpose of Türlin is to show Gawein free from the weakness of Parzival, who upon his first sojourn there neglected to ask the absolving question.

Vor ime in daz castel
 Sach er sie rîten alle
 Mit richelme schalle...
 Daz hûs er offen vant,...
 Nu hôrt er nieman noch ensach:
 Des wunderte in vil sêre...
 Alsô gienc er vil lange,
 Daz er niemans wart gewar:
 Wan ein tavel vant er gar
 Von^{der} aller besten spîse,

31. op. cit., lines 4252 - 4299
zival, §§ 237, 238, 239 to line 7

32. Wolfram von Eschenbach, Par-

Die in deheiner wîse
 Ieman kunde erdenken;
 Swer ime wolte schenken,
 Des vant er allen rât;
 Ouch was dehein missetât
 An tweheln noch an tischlachen...
 Da enwas kein ander arebeit,
 Wan daz man zuo dem tische saz
 Unde alle wirtschaft az
 Und tranc, ob er es niht vergaz...
 Geringe nâch dem ezzen
 Bereit et er sich ûf die vart...
 Und als er der brücke
 Kûm het gekêrt den rücke,
 Diu brücke sich ûf swief;
 Nâch ime mit sûezer stimme rief
 Ein magt, diu mit zuhten sprach:...
 Er wolte gesehen hân die magt...
 Dô was sie hin, daz er klagt. 33 >

In the Grail, too, some unseen power supplies the table. Stricker has removed this table from the interior of the mountain out upon the plain, but it remains nothing more than the table supplied by that Wunschding, the Grail, and embodies the Tischleindeckdich idea for which the Grail always stood in Germanic imagination from Wolfram down.

The popular myth of a hollow-mountain paradise must have inspired Stricker to this description of the Grüene Ouwe. Such liberties as he has taken with his material are traceable to his desire to fit the idea into his story. All that concerns him is the hollow-mountain and the conception of plenty, but he has not concealed the source from which he got these suggestions. It is of great importance to us that the poet has thus revealed his acquaintance with this Germanic paradisaical belief, for by this means we are also enabled to see the description of Cluse in its true light.

Cluse is first described by the giant messenger to Arthur's court. 34 > It is a country where spring is eternal and joy unbound-

ed. So completely and perfectly is it surrounded by mountains that nothing can enter which does not fly. Through a certain mountain goes a passage into the land within. A giant stands guard before the opening and a mighty stone closes it. The giant is invulnerable and Daniel slays him only by means of a magic sword.

Ez engetruoc nie kûnec krône,
 der alsô rehte schône
 lebete, sô mîn herre tuot.
 sîn lant ist dâvor wol behuot,
 im enschadet niht dîn hervart.
 Nâz hât gebirge bewart,
 daz gât umbe sîn lant.
 Nû ist nieman erkant,
 daz iht lebendez drüber müge,
 wan ein vogel, der dâ flüge.
 ein strâze gât durch den berc in,
 dâ ich herûz komen bin,
 sô man die wil besliezen,
 sô lât man nider schiezen
 einen grôzen stein dâfür...
 Daz lant ist grôz unde wît
 und ouch grûen zaller zît.
 ich sage niht von den frouwen,
 du solt sie dâ selbe schouwen.
 sie sint sô rehte zimelich,
 daz anders nieman noch ich
 ir schoene möhte ze ende komen.
 eins dinges ist dâ war genomen:
 daz aller wirst getâne wîp,
 der ist dâ ze lande ir lîp
 vil wol rôsen gelich.
 die frouwen sind sô wunneclîch
 und alsô gar geschoenet,
 daz er wol ist gekroenet
 von frouwen Saelden gewalt,
 er sî junc oder alt,
 der sie dâ schouwen getar.
 in ist den wunsch alsô gar
 an dem lîbe und an den siten,
 daz dâ niht ist vermiten.
 ez engewunnen nie wîp
 sô gar ûzerwelten lîp.
 sie sint baz danne wolgetân...
 dâ ist alle tage hôchzît;...
 dâ mac man fröude schouwen,
 dâ wirt tanzen unde singen
 und an vil mangel dîngen
 ein wunneclîchez hôchzît;
 man gît fröude widerstrît.
 da vindet jechlîcher man,
 swelher kurzwîl er kan...

Den lande algemeine
 ist ein gebot gegeben
 über guot und über leben,
 daz nieman sol beschouwen
 deheine juncfrouwen
 ih ir vateres gewalt;
 sô iu wirt acht jâr alt,
 sô muoz er sie z^u hove geben,
 daz siu diz minnegliche leben
 helfe vollebringen.
 an sô getânen dînen
 stât al mînes herren leben;
 dâ wil er ieclicher geben,
 ze swem si sich gesellet,
 der ir allerbast gevellet.

35 >

Once Daniel is within and the fearful carnage attendant upon conquering King Matur's host is over, there follows a time of general rejoicing and marrying between the maidens and the newly-made widows on the one hand and the invading force on the other. Daniel marries Matur's queen and then he announces:

Ich wil ez nicht lenger stillen,
 ich welle h^ochgezⁱt h^an,
 sⁱt ez mir n^ach fr^ouden ist erg^an,
 daz ich bin worden herre hie.
 n^u wil ich fr^ouwen alle die
 die ich zesa^mene bringen kan,
 ez sⁱ wⁱp oder man...
 d^o der k^une^c Mat^ur des landes pflac,
 d^o h^ate er h^ochzⁱt allen tac;...
 k^eren wir n^u den muot d^avon...
 s^o h^an wirs iemer schande...
 na^h h^an ich junkfrouwen,
 f^unfhundert sint mir undert^an,...
 swelher iuwer hie wil belⁱben,
 die l^aze ich darunder welen.
 s^o kunde iu nieman gezelen
 die witwen, die hie worden sint,
 die ouch sint wolget^aniu kint.
 swelhe iuwer deheiner wil,
 der neme des landes als^o vil,
 daz ir hie vil gerne sⁱt,
 so ist disiu h^ochgezⁱt
 iuwer als^o wol s^o mⁱn...
 Den gr^aven von dem Liechten Brunnen
 und den von der Gr^uenen Ouwe
 und ander, die sⁱn frouwe
 mit im ^uz h^ate gesant,

die begunde Daniel zehant
 durch friuntlichen dienest biten,
 daz sie vil balde hein riten
 und die frouwen nit in braechten...
 Dô Daniel wart gewar,
 daz die liute alle gar
 von sinen lande waren komen,
 als er diz hâte vernomen,
 dô wart er ein schoenez velt
 manich hêrlich gezelt
 mit grôzen vlîze geslagen...
 dâ was ein gruener anger,
 breiter unde langer,
 wol ein mîle oder mê,
 dâ niht wan bluomen unde clê
 zallen zîten ane was
 und daz schoeneste gras
 daz diu erde ie getruoc...
 dô wurden sie wol enpfangen
 von den juncfrouwen.
 dâ mohte man schouwen
 suoze lachen unde sehen
 und harte minneclîche spehen,
 beidiu gebaerde unde site...
 swelher ir deheiner gerte,
 si waere witwe oder maget,
 dem was ir lîp unversaget,
 unz der frouwen vierhundert
 wurden ûzgesundert,
 die alle ritter nâmen,
 die von Britanje quâmen
 mit dem kûnec Artûse
 die wolden dâ zu Clûse
 bethern Danièle sîn...
 Daniel hâte fröude sît
 alle tage mit hêchgezît
 ze Clûse in sinem lande.

36 >

A land so completely hedged by mountains that access is to be had
 only through a mountain is, I submit, nothing less than a hollow moun-
 tain with the top removed. The same motive has prompted this con-
 ception that gave rise to the change which Tilbury has made from
 Heisterbach when he puts Arthur on a plain on instead of in Mount
 Giber. 37 > It is one with the descriptions of Altswert and Sachsen-
 heim and that of the Grüne Ouwe. Battles such as take place in Cluse
 and the splendors of Matur's court require a larger stage than the in-

terior of a mountain. Therefore this device of uncapping the hill and expanding its area until a mountain-surrounded plain results.

The great attention which the poet pays to the description of feminine beauty and the account of the general marrying, together with the statement that those within live in daily hochzeit mark the place as descended from the hollow-mountain paradise such as the Wartburg-krieg describes. Attention is called again to Sachsenheim's description of the Venusberg earlier quoted. 38 > The eternal spring, the jousting and merry-making, the guarded entrance all make it evident enough that we are dealing here with one and the same idea. Cluse is a softened version of that which Niem describes as the mountain called the Gral. 39 >

The poet has written an Arthurian romance. His purpose is to glorify Arthur and his court, and he has, therefore, sought to remove from the paradisaical description open suggestions of sensuality, but he has not altogether succeeded. Two popular ideas show through his story,- the hollow-mountain paradise, with Arthur and his knights as its occupants. The poet may even be giving expression to a certain mythological development, for Wodansberge were common and Wodan lived therein, now and then riding out at the head of the furious host. 40 > Wodan was, furthermore, known as 'the old man of the mountain'. 41 > The name Matur is simply the Latin maturus and signifies the old man. Stricker's story may mean, therefore, that the mighty Arthur and his host have supplanted Wodan in this hollow-mountain paradise. Gervase of Tilbury has it:

38. op. cit., line 3900 ff. 39. op. cit., under Gral

40. Liebrecht, Gervasius von Tilbury, page 173 ff.

41. *Magk, Germ. Myth., 48*

in sylvis Britanniae majoris aut minoris consimilia contigisse referuntur, narrantibus nemorum custodibus, quos forestarios, quasi indaginum ac vivariorum ferinorum aut regionum nemorum custodes, vulgus nominat, se alternis diebus circa horam meridianum et in primo noctium conticinio, sub pleniluno luna lucente, saepissime videre militum copiam venantium et canum et cornuum strepitum, qui sciscitantibus se de societate et familia Arturi esse affirmant.

42 >

The conception of Arthur as ruler of a hollow-mountain paradise was abroad in the land when the Stricker wrote. The Wartburgkrieg and Caesarius von Heisterbach are contemporary documents attesting thereto. The Magdeburg Chronik of the succeeding century adds indirect evidence when it mentions side by side among the games of North German cities the tavelrunde and gral. 43 > The tafelrunde had long before come to signify a gay and sensual time, and the gral festival is but a representation of the earthly paradise idea transferred in the mountainless North from a mountain to a plain. 44 > Says Tanshäuser in one of his songs:

Da diu tavel runde was,
da wir do schone waren,
daz was loup, dar under gras;
si kunde wol gebaren;
da was niht massenie me,
wan wir zwei dort in einem kle:
si leiste, das si <da> solde,
unt tet, daz ich da wolde.

45 >

In a letter to his son a gentleman of the 15. century writes:

Wir sind auch...gesund nitsamht unnser gemahel...
und ist konig Artus hofe wie mit jagen, payssen,
hetzen, stechen, rennen unnd aller kurtzwil.

46 >

42. op. cit., pages 12, 13

43. op. cit., page 168

44. Caspar Abel, Sammlung etlicher noch nicht gedruckten alten Chroniken, page 56, note 45. Friedrich von der Hagen, Minnesinger, vol. 2, pages 84, 85

46. Steinhausen, Deutsche Privatbriefe des Mittelalters, p. 212, no. 312.

The good side for Daniel is that he is a prominent member of Arthur's Round Table. Whether Sir Daniel's name was actually described as being with Arthur in the mountain, and adapted the name, or whether he invented the character is for our purpose of no importance. 47 > Daniel became known as one of those who sat with Arthur in the mountain which the Wartburgkrieg describes. He must have been popularly believed to be one of those knights whom Arthur is said to have sent out. 48 > His name was known from 1200 to 1400, as the documentary evidence shows, for the story was floating in the air in all that time.

When the church took up the story to teach its children a lesson it found practically everything ready at hand. Much had already been told of Lohengrin or Heliast and of his coming out of such a place and returned. I have previously shown how the Schwanritter is the first figure reported in ancient Germanic lore to have come from the heathen paradise. This mysterious coming and going, seen also in the Schwanritter, was the point upon which the church fastened its immediate attention. Why did he return from the other world, - for otherworld the place was known to be. So the Wartburgkrieg speaks of Arthur's acts within the mountain,

sitz er von dieser welte schied. 49 >

In the Seel story the aged king at his death, set off in a boat whither he had come. These characters returned for the same reason that ghosts walk. Spirits rise and come back to earth because their

47. Why this Jewish, biblical name? So Heliast is name assigned to the Knight of the Swan by those desiring to Christianize the story. Could some equally slight suggestion (cf. Paghias, after Reiffenberg, page 224) have brought in Daniel? cf. Lion's den of Bible account with Part V, cap. 10 of the Guerois: also apocryphal book, Bel and the Dragon, 35 - 37, for possible Grail connection. 48. Wartburgkrieg, stanza 35 49. ibid., stanza 85

test is not easy, because some hard lines have been put upon the conception. Such is popular belief. Once the earliest phase of this conception of a paradise entered the mind of a man, it was left behind him, with all the rest of the pagan pantheon, and never came again to his mind, then the more ancient idea was lost. The paradise was transferred to the interior of a mountain, its occupants were all spirits. The hero returned because he would gladly have to live in that place in which he found himself. He wished forgiveness and salvation and came back to earth to get it. But he returned to the mountain or beyond whence he came. Why? The natural answer was, because the forgiveness he desired he had not been able to obtain. The sin was too great. Such was the interpretation placed upon the Schwarritter type of story by the church, and this is the first step in its later development into the Tannhäuser legend.

As the myth of the great spirit grew up, however, it shaped itself in a manner at once so peculiar and so attractive that the hero could not readily be adjusted into any other kind of story. The rescue of a woman in distress, centered especially about Elzevir Brabant, the duchess of Cleves and the duchess of Bouillon was its early and popular form, - so popular in fact, particularly in connection with the great Godfrey of Bouillon, the leader of the first crusade and honored hero of the church, that it could never have been transformed into an ecclesiastical version such as the Daniel story contains. With Daniel it was different. A member of Arthur's already discredited Table Round, connected with a series of adventures in themselves savoring strongly of the black art, and believed to have lived a life of great joy in the hollow-mountain paradise, that famous hero offered many points of vantage upon which the new

teleological story could build. The connection between the Daniel of the folk-song and Daniel of Stricker's poem is perhaps confirmed by the fact that nowhere in literature or thereabouts were there any other Danes of this name who could have served as the forerunner for the latter, which is itself certainly older than that of Tannhäuser and reach as well back into the period when Daniel von dem Blonden der Tui was a popular romance. Of this also the story was told that he had been with Arthur in the Roman - certainly great paradise and had come out for forgiveness. This being refused he had to go and never. In the same way, however, it is his wife he has returned forever. The story grew into a song, the pope refused to give absolution, - to show the extremity of the sin. Thus the Daniel of the Dutch song merges with the Venusberg back into the Grail and with it joins itself to the Arthurian cycle in Germany, which itself in turn reaches yet further back to the old Germanic paradise idea.

The diminutive ending -ken appearing in the name Danielken of the folk-song is, I am convinced, the affectionate diminutive, and means that this Daniel is Daniel the well-known and popular. Such a practice on the part of a people in speaking of those public figures best known to them is so everyday an occurrence as to need no further comment. As time passed and anti-papal minds viewed the story of Daniel, they read into it a condemnation of the pope, which for anyone with the slightest anti-papal bias is extremely easy. An altered view-point put an altered interpretation upon the whole. Then were added the openly hostile stanzas which served as the beginning for all the further touches of this nature to be found in other versions.

Daniel is the link connecting the old story of a paradise whence a mortal comes and to which he returns with Tannhäuser. Practically all the Tannhäuserlieder of the earlier day give the first syllable of the poet's name as Dan-. This is neither accident nor the result of dialectical influence. It is the shift which resulted in North Germany, where Daniel suggested Dannauer, the 10th German form of the name. Such changes in the name of a hero in a popular story are frequent and often much harder to account than in those of a saint. Tannhäuser was known to have been a loose fellow and a scoundrel of the type. This knowledge is, however, to be gained from no source whatever save from the own songs, and the change to which I have referred must have been made by some one who knew these songs, that is to say, by some North German scholar. Such a scholar for instance was Melchior Goldast, 1604. 50 > Up to the time of the change in name suggested by Daniel there had been nothing to connect Tannhäuser with the old paradise story so long as that story was told by the church to preach its moral, for Tannhäuser had never been known as an occupant of the heathen paradisaical mountain. Once the anti-papal spirit crept in there were points in his life which made it a not unfitting character to bear the title. Owing to his hostility to the church he filled the role of victim of papal injustice admirably. Just such a card as wrought the learned change in the name introduced the name of Urban. There is a suspicious accuracy in fixing events with such minute accuracy in a folk-song which in a period as long as must have elapsed since Tannhäuser's death would have suffered a great loss of exactly this sort of thing. This is Paris' view. 51 > For the fact that the spelling of the poet's name

50. Paraeneticorum veterum, after Grässe, op. cit., page 27

51. op. cit., page 129

is practically without exception Dan-. I refer to the first edition of Grässe's Der Tannhäuser und die Jüde. That the fragment of 1453 spells the name Tan- argues nothing. All the early 16. century folk-songs of Tannhäuser are doubtless as old as this, and what we meet here is but a better understanding of the name by some more educated poet.

As the song spread to the South the name of the hero was not at first always understood by the people who sang it and was therefore taken over bodily, retaining its North German form. This accounts for the persistency of the Dan- even in South Germany. When the song became somewhat more assimilated a better understanding gradually arose and the name was more and more often written Tan-. It is a noticeable fact that in the songs known to us only those which we may characterize as modernized show the spelling with T. What we find outside the folk-song concerning Tannhäuser is entirely beside the question, for it is evident that these other accounts go back to the popular poem for their basis.

The obvious similarity existing between the Danielkenlied and the song of Tannhäuser show that they stand in direct relationship to each other, and that they are the root of the whole myth in the form known to the 15. and 16. centuries, with the story of Daniel occupying the older position. Tannhäuser is therefore an accidental interloper into the old paradisaical story and bears no real connection either with Daniel, Arthur, Lohengrin-Helias or Sceaf. The Danielkenlied expresses the literal truth, therefore, when it asks in its opening line:

Wildy horen een goet nieu liet?

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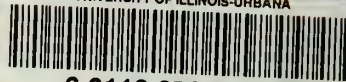
dred eight and nine he was also acting superintendent of the Moberce Union Schools. In nineteen hundred nine and ten he did graduate work at the University of Illinois, receiving the A.M. degree. Beginning with nineteen hundred ten he was for three semesters half-time assistant in German at the University of Illinois, from nineteen hundred eleven to thirteen he served three semesters as full time assistant. He also taught in the summer sessions of nineteen hundred eleven and nineteen hundred twelve at the same institution.

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